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STACEY HEPBURN AND COMPANY: ENTERPRISERS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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South Carolina was a fair prospect for business opportunity during the early years of the American Revolution, and a great many merchants from regions outside of the South took advantage of it. Because of its location, Charleston in particular became one of the terminal points for what was probably the most profitable trade in those first years of the war, the shuttle trade with the West Indies. This commerce, along with other enterprises, proved so lucrative that many merchants from other parts of the country were inclined to expand their interests in South Carolina.

One of the firms which emerged under these conditions was Stacey Hepburn and Company. The record of this organization is significant for two reasons. First, it shows how merchant groups outside of the South were then engaged in commerce which was dependent upon Southern commodities. And second, it demonstrates how the fortunes of war decisively influenced the decisions of those who were engaged in business during the war.

Stacey Hepburn and Company was formed in April, 1779, for the purpose of exploiting the commercial possibilities in South Carolina. It had an international character for it included John Holker, the French purchasing agent for the Royal Marine, and some important French mercantile firms, Chaumont and Sabatier, Fels, and Deprez, which he represented in his private capacity. This group owned three-sixths of the firm. Of the remainder, one-sixth of the firm was owned by Hepburn himself, a little-known young man from New Jersey, who was just beginning a career in business; while two-sixths was owned by Robert Morris, the foremost merchant in America at that time. Hepburn was the acting partner, while Morris issued most of the instructions.¹

Although the company was eventually concerned in several types of enterprises, it was originally inaugurated to purchase indigo and rice. Hepburn was supplied with £10,000 in Pennsylvania currency and bills, and credits to the value of \$300,000 in continental currency, a sizable capital investment. If the price of indigo were acceptable—and Morris considered \$2 to \$3 a pound, continental currency, to be reasonable—then the acting

¹ Morris to Holker, 26 April, 1779, Holker papers, XL, 7685, Library of Congress (copy). This article is based on correspondence in the Holker papers cited above and selected collections in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Only quotations are cited in footnotes which follow.

partner was to purchase indigo up to the value of £120,000, Pennsylvania currency; if the price were higher than \$3 a pound, then only one-half of that amount was to be purchased. Anticipating rice to be cheap, Morris also instructed Hepburn to invest in that commodity up to the value of £10,000, Pennsylvania currency. This amount could be doubled if Hepburn found the price of indigo so excessive that only a limited investment were warranted. Only if the plan to purchase indigo could not be executed was Hepburn, using his best judgment, to make such investments as "goods, hard money, or landed property."²

In issuing these instructions, Morris emphasized that measures should be taken to insure the safety of both commodities after they were purchased. Indigo, no matter where it was obtained, should be removed "to such places as you think it may remain safely and entirely out of the way of the enemy in case the state should be invaded." The same precautions must be taken with rice. It "must be deposited in places of safety and in the hands of responsible men of good characters known to possess property of their own."³

Although the greatest proportion of the rice and indigo purchases was intended for overseas export, Morris did not fail to point out other possibilities to Stacey Hepburn. Wagons, carrying reinforcements and supplies to the Southern department, were proceeding southward from Virginia, and because they would return empty, it might be worthwhile to transport some indigo to Virginia. Another possible investment was shipping. Although Morris discouraged the purchase of any vessel at Charleston, for he conceived it to be a "hazardous game," yet if possible to obtain one on "very cheap terms," the opportunity, after careful investigation, should not be neglected. In short, Hepburn should make the most of whatever business prospects presented themselves.⁴

Morris, speaking for the company, did not think the war would seriously interfere with their "grand object," the purchase of indigo and rice. "I continue to think that Charleston cannot fall into the hands of the enemy," he asserted. Although the war could continue throughout the summer and "considerable efforts" made in Georgia and Carolina, "the people of that country aided by the climate and such other assistance as may come to their relief will baffle all attempts." Morris' only limitation upon an unrestricted search for business opportunities was: "I beg you may not do anything that has the least tendency to obstruct the operations of our

² Morris to Hepburn, 26 April 1779, Society Collection, Penn Hist Soc. There are two letters of this date.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

army or that can be detrimental to the cause of America, for you know my principles are firmly fixed in its favour."⁵

When Stacey Hepburn reached South Carolina, he implemented the instructions to the best of his ability. In behalf of the company, he soon acquired one-half ownership in a vessel and its cargo, a landed estate, and 40,000 pounds of indigo, a commodity-purchase of considerable size. If it is recalled that in 1769, the total export of indigo from South Carolina was only 310,000 pounds, the size of this purchase can be properly appreciated. When Morris learned of these transactions, he urged Hepburn to use the ship to advantage and to send out four "fast sailing armed vessels" to France, each carrying one-fourth of the indigo acquired. He included a list of correspondents in the various ports of France who had managed business for him previously. If transportation to France were not available, at least one-half of the indigo should be sent to the Dutch island of St. Eustatia, a neutral port where it could be marketed if the price were satisfactory. If not, then the commodity could be forwarded to Holland. If these two possibilities were not practicable, the indigo could be re-sold — of course, with the idea of profit—and the money invested "in lands or such other way as you judge may be most beneficial to all parties interested in this operation."⁶ The ship in which the company shared ownership was dispatched, probably to Martinique, while most of the indigo, 24,000 pounds, was shipped safely to St. Eustatia.

But these two concerns soon gave way to plans in which the course of the war was even more intimately involved. Morris was convinced that Congress would take measures which he approved, to stop the depreciation of paper money; in fact, he thought it was entirely possible that the continental currency would rise in value. With this in mind, he suggested that Hepburn sell everything purchased for the company "except well bought confiscated lands," and invest the money in bills of exchange at Philadelphia, where Congress was intending to draw on France. Deposit the money either at the loan office in South Carolina and obtain certificates to forward to Philadelphia, or send hard money, which Morris had heard was cheap in South Carolina, to Philadelphia, where it was "dear." In either instance, when the money arrived it was to be invested in bills of exchange.⁷

This advice was contingent upon the military situation in the South, and whether Congress would take the measures which Morris anticipated. In a letter of September, 1779, Morris alluded to preparations which the British were making in New York. He thought the enemy expedition in-

⁵ Morris to Hepburn, 12 May 1779, Soc Coll, Penn Hist Soc.

⁶ Morris to Hepburn, 23 Sept 1779, Soc Coll, Penn Hist Soc.

⁷ Morris to Hepburn, 10 Dec 1779, Soc Coll, Penn Hist Soc.

tended to embark for the West Indies, but he realized that Charleston was always a possible high priority target. "I hope in God they never may attain that town," he declared, "yet it is best to have property as secure as possible." The British, after several false starts, due in part to actions of the French fleet, were equipped to send an expedition to the South. "I hope this may not be true, but if it is, I promise myself the people in Carolina after such repeated attacks and escapes will be too well prepared for defense to permit these despoilers to get possession of Charlestown." Hepburn was to judge for himself what was the best course to follow, but Morris continued to be confident. "Should any unforeseen event cause the enemy to evacuate Georgia, landed estates in that region would be desirable purchases."⁸

Rumors and fears with respect to British intentions were soon fed by facts. The British indeed were altering their overall strategy and dispatching an army to revive the campaign for control over the South. General Prevost, the British commander operating out of Georgia, who had repulsed ambitious efforts of the Allies to recapture Savannah in 1779, was to be reinforced by over 7,000 troops led by General Clinton. Clinton was familiar with the region, for he had waged an unsuccessful campaign there earlier in the war, but now he was about to conduct a decisive campaign aimed at subjection of the South. The first big target was the capture of Charleston.

When Morris learned of the British embarkation, he wrote Hepburn that "on the event of this expedition will your measures turn. . . . It is therefore impossible for me to give advice in the uncertainty which now reigns." Once again, Morris urged that all due precautions be taken to secure the property of the company. The news that the British expedition had landed near Charleston caused Morris to alter his previous instructions radically. Where he had urged the liquidation of much of the company's property, he now wanted Hepburn to put the money into real property. "I wish you may not have sold any property nor deposited any money in the Loan Office. . . . On the contrary I wish the whole was invested in good lands or other solid secure property."⁹

While Stacey Hepburn and Company were concerned with the fortunes of war, Clinton was launching a series of maneuvers which were eventually to capture Charleston. All during February and March, the well-planned movements of Clinton brought him nearer to his goal, and by the middle of April the British siege guns were bombarding the city. A month later, on May 12, the resistance of General Lincoln's forces was broken. The city

⁸ *Ibid*; see also Morris to Hepburn, 6 Jan 1780, Soc Coll, Penn Hist Soc.

⁹ Morris to Hepburn, 17 May 1780, Soc Coll, Penn Hist Soc.

with the 5,500 troops who had defended it, was surrendered to the British forces.

Whether Stacey Hepburn followed the original advice of Morris to liquidate much of the company's property or the later advice to invest in tangible goods, cannot be determined, for letters on this period have not been located. It is clear, however, that the British change of policy terminated the activities of the company, and Hepburn returned to the middle region. A general statement of accounts shows that the gross business of the firm amounted to slightly more than £200,000 Pennsylvania currency, or somewhat over \$60,000 in specie.

TWO LUTHERAN MISSIONARY JOURNALS, 1811, 1813

Edited by WILLARD E. WIGHT

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The Lutheran Church in South Carolina was faced for many years with a shortage of ministers of the Gospel. In the earlier period of its history, the church in Germany had sent ministers to preach to the congregations of the province, but after the Revolutionary War, this ceased and the Lutherans were dependent solely upon themselves. In an attempt to overcome this difficulty and also to secure the incorporation of the various Lutheran and German Reformed congregations, the *Corpus Evangelicum* or *Unio Ecclesiastica* was formed in 1787. This was the first organization of these denominations in South Carolina. It continued in existence until at least 1794, as records through that year are extant.¹

With the disappearance of the *Corpus Evangelicum* came what has been described as "the dark period of the Lutheran Church in South Carolina." Proselyting sects industriously engaged in gathering the scattered Lutherans into their folds, and a number of once flourishing congregations became irretrievably lost to the church. So great became the need for ministers that the time honored requirement of a university education for ordination was relinquished and a "home student system" was instituted. Under this method an individual desiring to enter the ministry was licensed as a catechist, with authority to perform all the duties of a pastor except the administration of the Lord's Supper, while at the same time he carried on studies in theology under the guidance of an older minister. After satisfactorily completing this step, he became a candidate for the ministry and was then eligible for ordination. Through this expedient, the church was enabled to increase the number of ministers available to serve the many congregations which were vacant.²

The organization of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of North Carolina and Adjacent States in 1803 provided the Southern Lutherans with an ecclesiastical organization through which the resources of the various congregations could be unified and the total strength of the church applied to the solution of the pressing problems. With few exceptions, the Lutheran pastors in South Carolina affiliated themselves with this body and were thus able to present the needs of the South Carolina congregations for consideration of all Southern Lutheranism.³

In the absence of ministers to fill the vacant pulpits in the various churches, the North Carolina Synod appointed traveling missionaries or preachers to visit these

¹ Ernest L. Hazelius, *History of the American Lutheran Church from Its Commencement in the Year of Our Lord 1685, to the Year 1842* (Zanesville, Ohio, 1846), 121.

² Gottwald D. Bernheim, *History of the German Settlements and of the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina, from the Earliest Period of the Colonization of the Dutch, German and Swiss Settlers to the Close of the First Half of the Present Century* (Philadelphia, 1872), 360, 372. F.W.E. Peschau, translator, *Minutes of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of North Carolina . . . 1803-1826*. (Newberry, S. C., 1894), 19, 28.

³ Bernheim, *German Settlements*, 372-73.

brethren and thus assure in some degree their continuance in the Lutheran faith. It is the journals of two such traveling missionaries that are here presented. The text of Robert Johnstone Miller's Journal for 1811 is taken from *Principal Transactions of the Synod of the Lutheran Ministry in North Carolina from 1811 to 1812*.⁴ Although the minutes of this session were published in both the German and English languages the copy used by the editor is the only one in English known to be extant.⁵ The text of John Philip Franklow's Journal for 1813 is taken from "Historical Sketches" by Gottwald D. Bernheim which appeared in the *Southern Lutheran* for November 29, 1862.⁶

EXTRACT OF THE JOURNAL OF THE REV. MR. ROBERT JOHNSON MILLER,⁷
 MISSIONARY FROM THE LUTHERAN CHURCH, IN
 NORTH CAROLINA, OF THE YEAR 1811

The Second part of my Journey, I began on the 4th of November, 1812. [1811].

I spent the first evening about 25 miles from home in christian conversation, came the next day through a very rough Country, 35 miles where

⁴ (New Market, Virginia, 1812), 18-23.

⁵ In Archives of United Evangelical Lutheran Synod of North Carolina, Lenoir Rhyne College. The only known copies in German are at Duke University and William and Mary College.

⁶ No complete issue for November 29, 1862 is known to be extant. Bernheim, whose sketches appeared in the *Southern Lutheran* from 1862 through 1864, collected them in a scrapbook which he presented to the Lutheran Theological Southern Seminary where they were used by the editor.

⁷ Robert Johnstone Miller (1758-1834) born in Scotland, was destined by his parents for the Jacobite Episcopal Church. At the age of sixteen he joined his brother, a prosperous East India merchant in Charlestown, Mass. Here he served honorably in establishment of independence of the colonies. In 1786 he was licensed by the Methodist Episcopal Church but soon withdrew when that denomination severed its connection with the Episcopal church. In Lincoln County, North Carolina, he served a congregation of Church of England people and at their request he in 1794 was ordained by the Lutheran ministers of North Carolina. Although the ceremony was performed by followers of Luther, it was specifically stated in his ordination certificate that he was always "obliged to obey the Rules, ordinances and customs of the Christian Society, called the Protestant Episcopal Church in America." From the organization of the North Carolina Synod in 1803, Miller was prominent in Lutheran circles. Establishment of the Episcopal Church in North Carolina in 1817 furnished Miller the opportunity to become a minister of the denomination for which he had been originally destined. In 1821, at the age of sixty-three, he was ordained a deacon by Bishop Moore of Virginia. At his death he was buried in the family cemetery on his plantation, "Mary's Grove," several miles west of the present Lenoir, where he had resided since 1806. Samuel A. Ashe, editor, *Biographical History of North Carolina from Colonial Times to the Present*, 8 vols. (Greensboro, 1905-1917), IV, 325-27; William L. DeRosset, Jr., editor, *Sketches of Church History in North Carolina, Addresses and Papers of Clergymen and Laymen of the Diocese of North and East Carolina* (Wilmington, 1902), 369-411; Bernheim, *German Settlements*, 337-40.

Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians live, none having a regular Minister.

The next day, I came to Rutherfordton [North Carolina], where my appointment to preach had not been made, from thence I rode on the 7th, crossing Broad and Green River through a thin settled country where Baptists mostly reside, to Spartanburg, S.C. On the 8th, a very rainy day nothing was to be had for man and beast until 2 o'clock p.m. Crossed the Congeree, and hear of no regular Minister living among the different denominations.

Saturday the 9th, I arrived in the evening after having crossed the Saluda River at a Mr. Robert Smiths, a rich and bad Seceder on Hard-labour Creek where my appointments were to commence. Sunday the 10th, I preached in a German Meeting-house: here was formerly a Lutheran congregation⁸ but no remains of them are now to be found, here the Methodists and Baptists have pulled each other out of the pulpit; every person seemed very attentive, here is full proof of the necessity of missionary preaching. Brother Dreher,⁹ Metz¹⁰ and Fulmar¹¹ from the congregations on Saluda met me here; the former Lutheran minister became a Methodist.

⁸ St. George on Hard Labor Creek, one of fifteen Lutheran and German Reformed congregations who in 1787 formed the *Corpus Evangelicum* or *Unio Ecclesiastica* in South Carolina, and in 1788 petitioned the legislature for incorporation. Paul Quattlebaum, "German Protestants in South Carolina in 1788, A Petition for the Incorporation of their Churches," this *Magazine*, XLVII (1946), 195-204. At the Historical Commission of South Carolina, Quattlebaum found the original petition with signatures of petitioners. Bernheim wrote that he had been informed that the old church edifice still stood but that "owing to neglect on the part of the Lutheran Church in supplying those people with the much-needed means of grace they became in time lost to the Lutheran faith entirely." *German Settlements*, 166, 179.

⁹ Godfrey Dreher (d. 1875), licensed in 1810, was ordained in 1812 by the North Carolina Synod. He later joined the Tennessee Synod, and in 1824 was one of the organizers of the South Carolina Synod. Throughout his long life he labored exclusively in his native state. Gottwald D. Bernheim and George H. Cox, *The History of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod and Ministerium of North Carolina, in Commemoration of the First Century of Its Existence* (Philadelphia, 1902), 164-65. Miller's eldest daughter, Catherine Lowrance Miller, married Godfrey Dreher. Allan L. Poe to the editor, July 15, 1952.

¹⁰ John Yost Meetze (d. 1833), a Hessian soldier who deserted while the British were besieging Charleston, successfully made his escape within the American lines and settled in Saxe-Gotha Township, Lexington District. Licensed in 1812, and ordained in 1822 by the North Carolina Synod, he was long a worker in South Carolina, and an organizer of the Lutheran Synod in that state in 1824. Bernheim, *German Settlements*, 174. Bernheim and Cox, *History of North Carolina Synod*, 164-65.

¹¹ No minister named Fulmar has been discovered, hence it may be presumed that he was a layman.

I became acquainted with a very worthy Minister of the Presbyterian Church, remained with him on the 11th, when we had in presence of his family much christian conversation on various points of divinity; I also became acquainted with other true children of God.

On the 13th I preached 14 miles from Savannah River to a serious congregation chiefly Presbyterians.—Saturday the 16th, went to Rocky River Meeting-house¹² where I heard the Rev. Mr. Kennedy¹³ a Presbyterian clergyman preach an excellent sermon from Isa. 45, 5. The following Sabbath I preached in the same Meeting house to a very large attentive and serious congregation, and then assisted the Rev. Mr. Kennedy, to administer the Sacrament.

Further up on Little Saluda River, which I passed the next day at a dangerous Ford there is considerable number of our people, whom I did not see throughout this wholesome country, or no attention is paid to the religious instruction of youth except among the Presbyterians, of course there can be but very little vital religion among them.

On the 19th after sermon on Hallow Creek Church (called Salem.)¹⁴ I became acquainted with a poor man calling himself a Preacher, but to all appearance destitute of the spirit and temper of a Christian, as well as of every qualification to preach. I gave him some advice but got very little thanks. From hence I preached through all German congregations¹⁵ in the neighborhood until the 28th. It is a pleasure to labour here; the people love the Gospel of Jesus and his Servants.

South from this about 40 miles, I arrived at one of the first settled con-

¹² Now known as Rock Church. George Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, 2 vols. (Columbia, 1870, 1873), I, 140.

¹³ John Brandon Kennedy (d. 1846), ordained in 1796, served for fifty years as minister of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina. For many years he supplied Rocky Creek while pastor of Duncan's Creek Church. *Ibid.*, I, 140, 290, 617; G. E. McGrew, "Epitaphs from Duncan's Creek Presbyterian Church." *This Magazine* L, (1949), 227.

¹⁴ As the German Protestant Society of Salem Church in Berkeley County, Orangeborough District, it was one of the petitioners in 1788. Quattlebaum, "German Protestants," *loc. cit.*, 199. Known today as Sandy Run Church, it was in 1824, under its incorporated name "Salem," one of the congregations that formed the South Carolina Synod. Samuel T. Hallman, editor, *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of South Carolina, 1824-1924* (Columbia, n.d.), 140.

¹⁵ Known as the Saluda Charge, which consisted of the German Lutheran Church of Mt. Zion, on Twelve-mile Creek, the German Lutheran Church of Bethel, on High Hill Creek, and the German Lutheran Church of St. Peter, on Eighteen-mile Creek. To these had been added about the year 1800, the German Lutheran Church of Salem, on Sandy Run. Bernheim, *German Settlements*, 233, 306-07, 362-63.

gregations¹⁶ in all these quarters, visited their Teacher Mr. Franklow;¹⁷ on the 29th found the congregation much decayed, but that it might be revived and increased, if they could be supplied with a Minister of talents and grace, they were for several years past attended by Mr. Franklow, who (as he says) had received license from the Bishop of the Church of England to baptise. (N.B. See extracts from the Journal.)¹⁸

On my return to the Saluda River I preached December 1st at the oldest German Church in this quarter, to a large and very serious congregation, from John 3, 17. and found the people very desirous to put themselves under the care of our convention.

On the 2d December, I preached twice to a serious people; December 3d I heard a Mr. Rupph,¹⁹ a Methodist preacher in Granby explain from John 3, 8. that Calvinism was a part of the work of the Devil.

On the fourth after having preached I arrived at Brother John Dreher's. —This man has exerted himself for some years past in the absence of a settled Minister to keep the light of the Gospel burning, he had divinely pious books printed at his own expense, spreads them for a low price among the people, and an evident blessing rests upon his exertions.

On the 5th, I visited a sick woman described to her the Friend of sinners, and on the next day she departed to her eternal home. After meeting on Friday the 6th, I went to the Lutheran Minister Wallern,²⁰ found him about

¹⁶ The Congregation of St. Matthew's German Protestant Church in Amelia, one of the petitioners of 1788. *Ibid.*, 382. Quattlebaum, "German Protestants," *loc. cit.*, 198.

¹⁷ John Philip Franklow (d. 1829) was licensed in 1812 and ordained later that same year by the North Carolina Synod. In 1824 he was one of the organizers of the South Carolina Synod. From 1799 to 1814 he was pastor of St. Matthews's congregation in Orangeburg District and later served churches in Lexington District. Bernheim, *German Settlements*, 309, 361, 412; Bernheim and Cox, *History of North Carolina Synod*, 164-65.

¹⁸ "The last named [Franklow] had already served a congregation in South Carolina, acting as fully authorized pastor, for thirteen years, and he and his congregation united with us and submitted to our discipline (order of things)." Peschau, *Minutes of Synod of North Carolina*, 13.

¹⁹ Jacob Rumph (1777-1812), son of General Jacob Rumph and his wife Ann Dattwyler of Orangeburg District, was licensed in 1808, and received on trial the next year by the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He died while pastor in Charleston. *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Years 1773-1828* (New York, 1840), 221-22; Alexander S. Salley, Jr., *The History of Orangeburg County, South Carolina, from Its First Settlement to the Close of the Revolutionary War* (Orangeburg, 1898), 110, 474; Elizabeth H. Jervey, "Marriage and Death Notices from the City Gazette," this *Magazine*, XXXVII (October, 1936), 160.

²⁰ Frederick Joseph Wallern (1759-1818) apparently labored all his life among churches in Newberry District. Although a member of the *Corpus Evangelicum* in 1789, he was not among petitioners for incorporation in 1788. In fact, only one peti-

his farming business, conversed that evening and the following day much with him on the state of the church, of religion and on other subjects, and found him a man acquainted with the world. Sunday the 8th I preached in his Church²¹ he accompanied me and also the following day to a funeral, where I addressed the people on the subject of death and preparation, he preached from Psalm 37, 18. On the following day I preached to a small but to appearance serious people, and therewith finished my Missionary tour for this year.

REMARKS²²

. . . . Another itinerant preacher qualified as above [to preach in both German and English] to travel from Broad River west to near the Savannah River, and south to near Charlestown and so round would be equally usefully employed, and there is no doubt but that the people would cheerfully contribute what would be sufficient to give decent support. O! that the Lord would give us 3 or 4 young ministers, endowed and equipped with grace and talents, and gifted to preach in both Languages, much could then be done for his Church. The congregations as they are now insensibly mouldering away from want of such teachers, among the old Germans there is a standing still, their youth learn and speak English of course if a teacher speaks German it is to them like the sound of the church Bell.—But the affair is the Lord's.

REV. JOHN P. FRANKLOW'S²³ JOURNAL OF A TOUR TO THE SALKEHACHIE OR SALT KETCHER RIVER, IN BARNWELL DISTRICT, S.C., A.D. 1813

Sunday, March 28th, 1813.—I set out on my journey from my church,²⁴ after divine service, and arrived in the evening at Mr. Moss,²⁵ on the Edisto

tioning church has been identified as in Newberry District, and that has been questioned. Bernheim noted that "he and his congregations remained isolated and uninfluenced by synodical counsel and authority." This must have been due to Wallern's influence, for the year following his death the churches formerly served by him were received into the North Carolina Synod. Bernheim, *German Settlements*, 302, 411; Hallman, *History of South Carolina Synod*, 132; Peschau, *Minutes of Synod of North Carolina*, 38.

²¹ This may have been St. Paul's Lutheran Church near Pomaria, which Wallern served long as pastor. His plantation was about a mile and a half from this church and his residence was within a few hundred yards of the churchyard in which he is buried. John B. O'Neill and John A. Chapman, *The Annals of Newberry* (Newberry, 1892), 672-73.

²² The omitted remarks pertain to Miller's journey in Virginia, June 18-September 15, 1811.

²³ See note 17, *supra*.

²⁴ St. Matthew's Lutheran Church, Orangeburg District.

²⁵ A Stephen Moss lived on the Edisto River in Orangeburg District in 1825. Robert Mills, *Atlas of the State of South Carolina* (Columbia, 1938).

River. Here I made an appointment to preach in a new Methodist meeting-house on my return on Thursday, April 8th.

March 29th.—The morning was cloudy and wet, and I therefore started late in the day and arrived in the evening at Major Erwin's. The next day I crossed the Little Saltketcher, through a long swamp [Little Swamp] and deep water, and came in the evening to Mr. Shobert,²⁶ a church-warden of St. Bartholomew Church.²⁷—Here I made my appointment to preach in this church on Friday, April 2nd., and on Sunday and Monday following at St. Nicholas' church, and again at St. Bartholomew's on my return on Tuesday, April 6th.

Wednesday, March 31st.—Today I was introduced to several members of the church, when I was informed that they had a minister, who had lived and preached nine years among them, named John Henry Graff, a native of Saxony, in Germany, and who labored there ever since the death of Rev. Mr. Bamberger;²⁸ he (Graff) was ordained by the Revd. Mr. Waller to the ministry of the Gospel. For two years the members of St. Bartholomew's Church had not employed him any longer as their pastor, and in St. Nicholas Church his time expires in three weeks. I found that the minister and people were opposed to each other, and, upon inquiry as to the cause of this division, I was informed that Mr. Graff could not speak the English language so as to be understood, and that his sermons were three and four hours long; that he had no energy and life in his discourse; that he spoke too low to be heard distinctly; in short, that they would engage him no longer as their pastor. Mr. Shobert desired me to go to see him, which I had intended to do.

April 1st.—I visited Mr. Graff, and stayed several hours with him. I found him at home, expecting to see me, from the report of some of his neighbors that a strange minister was come to visit him and the congregations. He received me in a friendly manner, and I found him well-informed in religion and the Scriptures. He told me of the dislike which his congrega-

²⁶ A Frederick Shubert or Shupert was in the Southern Part of Orangeburg District in 1790 and lived near Savannah Creek, Barnwell District in 1825. Bureau of the Census, *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790. South Carolina* (Washington, 1908), 99; Mills, *Atlas*.

²⁷ St. Bartholomew and St. Nicholas formed one parish. The former is the present day Mt. Pleasant Church near Erhardt, Bamberg County. St. Nicholas Church is near Fairfax, Allendale County. Hallman, *History of South Carolina Synod*, 128-29.

²⁸ John George Bamberg (d. 1800) was ordained by the *Corpus Evangelicum* in 1788, at which time he was pastor of the German Lutheran Church of Mt. Zion, on Twelve-mile Creek, the German Protestant Church of St. Martin and the German Lutheran Church of Bethlehem, on Forest's Ford. After 1798 he labored in Barnwell District. Quattlebaum, "German Protestants," *loc. cit.*, 199, 201; Bernheim, *German Settlements*, 301-03.

tions had against him, which he said proceeded from the family in which his daughter had married, who was then a widow, and now they were maliciously affected towards him. I asked him to preach or exhort after me, when he said, that as I would preach both in German and English, it would be late for him to speak after me, and wished to defer it to my return on Tuesday next. He showed me his letter of ordination, signed by the Rev. Mr. Waller and Churchwardens, dated Sept., 1800; he works at his trade, being a shoemaker, to support his family; his subscription list of St. Nicholas Church, which I have seen, amounts to only 263, (supposed to be 263 dollars,) and expires on the 26th of April, 1813.

April 2nd.—I went to St. Bartholomew's Church, which is in sight of their minister's house, and preached in the German and English languages from 2 Cor. 5, 20, to a small but attentive congregation, one of whom, Mr. Copel, asked me to baptize a child for him on my return next Tuesday. I was surprised and told him I did not wish to do it, as they had a minister, to which he replied, that he (Graff) was no longer their minister, as he had not been engaged in that church these two years, and that if I would not baptize his child Mr. Graff should not do it. Mr. Graff requested me to announce that he would administer the Lord's Supper on Easter Sunday at St. Nicholas Church, and that the Church-wardens should send by me the names of the members that would attend, all of which I promised to do. The next day I crossed the Big Saltketcher at River's Ford, nearly three-quarters of a mile wide and very deep, and arrived at Mr. Jacob Hardee, one of the Church-wardens of St. Nicholas Church; he has a mill, and by that means most of the people were informed that divine service would be performed the next day.

Sunday, April 4th.—I went to St. Nicholas and preached to a serious congregation from St. John 3, 14 & 15. The people were very attentive both to the German and English discourses. After service I published, as I had promised, that the Lord's Supper would be administered on Easter Sunday by their minister, but not one offered to give in their names, and wished that I should administer it to them on that day, to which I replied that it was impossible, as I had two appointments to fill, one at Sandy Run next Sunday, and at my own church on Easter day. They then begged me to visit them again, and administer the sacraments, as Mr. Graff was not worthy to administer any sacrament. I told them that if possible I would pay them another visit in the Fall, and would make my appointments by letter before I came. On Monday I preached again in St. Nicholas from Gen. 3, 9, to a tolerably full congregation, part of the members having been prevented to attend on account of the session of Barnwell Court, which commenced this day. The people complained that while Mr. Graff lived among them no other minister would come to be their pastor.

Tuesday, April 6th.—After having crossed Broxton's Ford in a canoe, and swimming my horse, I arrived yesterday at my old lodging place, Mr. Shobert's. I went to-day to St. Bartholomew's Church, where I met Mr. Graff, who promised me to preach in English after my discourse. He informed me that a neighbor of his baptized children without license or authority, and that the people employed him in preference to Mr. Graff's attending upon this duty. After my discourse from Luke 15, 18, Mr. Graff preached in German instead of the English language, although it was contrary to his promise and the people's expressed desire. After service I baptized Mr. Copel's child, rather than suffer it to be baptized by an improper person. Here I took my leave of this people, exhorting them to reconciliation and unity with their minister. They answered that this could not be, but that they were now as lost sheep without a shepherd: that they went to hear the word of God among the Methodists and Baptists, but would not join them, as they wished to keep to the religion of their fathers. They hoped that some good minister would soon be their pastor, and begged me to state their condition before the Lutheran Synod, and that they would appoint me or some other minister to visit them again. I received from the two churches \$7.56 $\frac{1}{4}$.

April 7th.—I went to Mr. Moss with the hope of filling my appointment at the Edisto Methodist Meeting-House, when I was informed that they objected to me on account of my being a Lutheran minister. The next day I went to Sandy Run to meet friend Dreher, agreeable to my promise; my horse, almost disabled by the distemper, had rest here for several days; lodged at Mr. John Keigler's.

Saturday, April 10th.—I went to church at Sandy Run where I met friend Dreher and Mr. Henkel; we preached to a numerous assembly; and on Sunday, friend Dreher and I administered the Lord's Supper to many communicants in the presence of a large assembly. I arrived at home, thanks to God, safe and well, and found my family in good health, though my horse could scarcely carry me home.

JOHN EDWARDS AND SOME OF HIS DESCENDANTS

By MARY PRINGLE FENHAGEN

CHAPTER I

John Edwards, one of the naval commissioners of South Carolina, 1777-1780, has not been completely overlooked in the history of the state, but references to his services to country and church are scattered. His death occurred just at the termination of his exile to St. Augustine. He shared in his country's misfortunes but did not live to enjoy the rewards. He left ten children. Three sons and four daughters married and left descendants, but his sons died in early middle age. He built in 1770 one of Charleston's beautiful homes, which was sold in 1844. Only the recent fashion of identifying a house by the name of its builder has caused 15 Meeting Street to be known as the John Edwards House.

John Edwards came from Bristol about 1750 to engage in the importing and exporting trade in Charleston. He mentions in his will a widowed sister, Elizabeth Jones of Holywell, Flintshire, North Wales,¹ and it is possible that he was a native of that region. Holywell has access to the export trade through the river Dee. John Edwards was a staunch member of the Independent Congregational Church, which is consistent with a Welch upbringing. He seems not to have been connected with the several other families of the same name. Particularly confusing is a younger contemporary John Edwards, whose son George Edwards built the pineapple gateway and fence at 14 Legare Street, Charleston. The two John Edwards do not seem to have been related, and Colonel Isaac Hayne in his records differentiates them by calling the younger man "John Edwards, esq., merchant, Beaufort".² The man himself used "Junior".

John Edwards was one of the wealthier Charleston merchants of his day. His firm, Edwards, Fisher and Company, advertised in the press for sale both slaves and indentures of families and single persons, as well as many commodities.³ He was one of the first to advance large sums of money to the embryo government in South Carolina. When in 1775 the Committee of Safety was gathering a supply of gun powder to withstand a British attack, Henry Laurens armed Captain Lemprière for his raid on the British ship, "Betsey," off the St. Augustine bar, with a draught of £1000 on

¹ Motte Alston Read genealogical notes (MS, S. C. Historical Society), cited as Read MS.

² This *Magazine*, XI, 101.

³ Leila Sellers, *Charleston Business on the Eve of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, 1934), pp. 121, 131.

John Edwards, treasurer.⁴ His was one of the signatures under which the paper money, legal tender of the day, was issued.⁵

In 1768 John Edwards and his next door neighbor and fellow churchman, Josiah Smith, Jr., had been appointed Commissioners of Fortifications.⁶ The following year, when the colonies were trying peacefully to alter the oppressive taxes of Great Britain, and South Carolina along with the others formed a Non-Importation Association, John Edwards was a member of the committee appointed to enforce the ban on imports. This measure hampered planter and merchant alike. Mrs. Ann Mathews protested in court that her condemned cargo had arrived only shortly after two consignments to John Edwards, who, being a member of the committee, had been allowed to retain his. Mrs. Mathews went on to cite Mr. Rutledge as having received two imported horses at an even later date. But although the lady protested, public opinion was so strong that her son retracted her statements.⁷

John Edwards served in the Commons House of Assembly in October and December 1772. He was a member of both the first and second Provincial Congresses in 1775.⁸ When the General Assembly decided to authorize a separate board to handle naval affairs of the Province, John Edwards, Roger Smith, Thomas Corbett, John Neufville and Joshua Ward, were asked on September 21, 1776, to prepare such a bill. Six days later Edwards presented the bill. On August 28, 1777, Edwards was appointed one of the Naval Commissioners, and he seems to have been a regular attendant at meetings thereafter.⁹ The Commission at this time became very busy forwarding to Commodore Gillon in Europe the produce of the country, to enable him to buy military supplies for the state.¹⁰ Mr. Edwards probably

⁴ John Drayton, *Memoirs of the American Revolution* (Charleston, 1821), I, 306. Letter of Thomas Neel, this *Magazine*, VI, 98.

⁵ Joseph Johnson, *Traditions of the American Revolution* (Charleston, 1851), p. 195.

⁶ This *Magazine*, XLV, 173.

⁷ Edward McCrady, *History of South Carolina under the Royal Government*, pp. 407, 671-676, 679.

⁸ A. S. Salley (ed.), "Eligibility List", *Register of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1945). The Provincial Congress in September 1775 favored an attempt to close the channels by sinking schooners across them. William Tennant, John Edwards, George G. Powell, and others not named, "strong votaries of this measure," were appointed on the committee. This *Magazine*, V, 77, 78.

⁹ A. S. Salley (ed.), *Journal of the Commissioners of the Navy of South Carolina* (Columbia, 1912), pp. 3, 91.

¹⁰ William Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution* (New York, 1802), I, 209. D. E. Huger Smith, "The Luxembourg Claims," this *Magazine*, X, 92-115. Most interesting postscript is the chancery suit against Alexander Gillon by South Carolina in 1794, in which the state is represented by John Julius Pringle and John Bee Holmes.

further impoverished himself in this connection. He with other members of the Privy Council in August 1777 sat as a Court of Chancery under the state constitution of 1776.¹¹

In 1779 he was elected for one year to the Privy Council, and met with the Governor and other members of the Council to consider the terms of surrender offered by General Prévost in May 1779. With Christopher Gadsden and Thomas Ferguson, Edwards most strongly objected to accepting the terms. Moultrie says "Edwards was so affected as to weep, saying, 'What are we going to give up the town at last?'" Because of the strong opposition in Council, which caused delay, and the opportune arrival of General Lincoln, the surrender of the city was postponed a year.¹²

When the surrender came, Admiral Arbuthnot, ranking officer of the British navy, was quartered on Mr. Edwards, the family being allowed to retain a portion of the house. As with other prominent men of the province, the British tried to talk him over to their side. This conversation between Admiral Arbuthnot and Mr. Edwards was detailed by John Bee Holmes, Edwards' stepson.¹³

In August 1780 the British, having failed by persuasion to win over the patriots, decided to deport the leaders. Mr. Edwards' being among this number sent to St. Augustine is mentioned in a letter of Governor Rutledge to the South Carolina delegates in Congress.¹⁴ "Josiah Smith's [Jr.] Diary"¹⁵ gives an account of the sufferings of the exiles. Their estates were sequestered by the British so their funds were scant. They were forced to furnish much of the expense of their keep. They grouped themselves into several "messes" and Edwards was one of twenty who rented a house in which to live. Letters passed back and forth to their families so these heads of families kept in touch with each new move of the British. When in June 1781, word came that they would be exchanged and allowed to proceed at their own expense to Philadelphia, the good news was followed by word that their families would have to follow them into exile, leaving Charleston not later than August first. "None of us are to be allowed to go to Carolina to the assistance of our Dear familys there," writes Smith.

Edwards knew that his eldest son, John Edwards, just twenty-one years old, was one of the militia on parole sent aboard the prison ships in Charles-

¹¹ Anne King Gregorie (ed.), *Records of the Court of Chancery of South Carolina* (Washington, 1950), p. 627. Note to letter of Thos. Neel, cited above, identifies John Edwards as member of Privy Council, May 29, 1776.

¹² Edward McCrady, *South Carolina in the Revolution*, I, 282, 362, 373. Johnson, *Traditions*, p. 219.

¹³ Alexander Garden, *Anecdotes of the Revolutionary War* (Charleston, 1822), pp. 186-188.

¹⁴ *This Magazine*, XVII, 140.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, XXXIII, XXXIV.

ton harbor on May seventeenth.¹⁶ Also on board were his two step sons, John Bee Holmes, about twenty-one, and William Holmes, younger. His anxieties about them and the wife, who must transport nine younger children and twelve servants to Philadelphia, undoubtedly were contributing causes to his death. Edwards sailed from St. Augustine on the same ship with Josiah Smith, Jr., on July 19, and on July 30, they landed in Philadelphia. Much was made of these battered civilian heroes on their arrival. Josiah Smith, Jr.'s, family and Daniel DeSaussure's arrived on August 3 on the same ship. Edwards found his son and step sons already in Philadelphia but his wife's arrival was delayed beyond August 1, the British deadline for departure. We know that on August 4, she was still in Charleston, for Isaac Hayne, on his way to the gallows, handed his thirteen-year-old son papers giving his account of the events leading to his arrest and execution, and instructed his son to put the papers in the hands of Mrs. Edwards to forward to her brother in Congress, Thomas Bee.¹⁷

John Edwards died on August 18, 1781. The next day, Josiah Smith wrote in his diary, "This day was buried, in Arch Street Church burying Ground, the remains of my Friend, Neighbor and Companion in Exile, John Edwards Esqr. who suddenly exchanged this (I hope) for a happier existence, the preceding evening by a Fit of Apoplexy. This melancholy event took place, previous to the arrival here of his much afflicted Widow, and numerous Children, his family thereby lost a most valuable head, Religion a True friend, and the Public a most hearty Supporter of American freedom." When the Edwards family returned after the withdrawal of the British, they reinterred his body in the Congregational Churchyard, Charleston, where a stone, partially defaced, marks his resting place, and states that he left ten children.¹⁸

John Edwards had been a devout member of the Independent Congregational Church since his arrival in Charleston. His three marriages were into families closely identified with the church, and in September 1775, he had headed a committee to revise the constitution of the church.¹⁹

John Edwards married first Dorothy, daughter of the Reverend Nathan Bassett, minister of the church, who died June 26, 1738.²⁰ Dorothy was baptized April 1, 1733, married about 1754, and died in 1756, her issue with her.²¹

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 116, 283; XXXIV, 79.

¹⁷ Henry Lee, *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department* (New York, 1870), p. 456.

¹⁸ *This Magazine*, XXXIV, 70; XVII, 160.

¹⁹ George N. Edwards, *A History of the Independent or Congregational Church of Charleston South Carolina* (Boston, 1947), p. 42.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 152; *this Magazine*, XII, 28, 30.

²¹ Read MS.

John Edwards married second, on April 11, 1758, Margaret Peronneau,²² daughter of one of the staunch laymen of the church, Alexander Peronneau, by his first wife. Alexander Peronneau's name appears in 1732 on the earliest surviving list of pew holders.²³ His first wife was Mary Pollock, daughter of the Presbyterian divine, the Reverend John Pollock.²⁴ They were married by the Reverend Nathan Bassett on June 7, 1733.²⁵ After her death on February 6, 1741, in her thirty-second year, Peronneau married on December 24, 1744, Margaret Hext.²⁶ His name appeared frequently in the account books of Thomas Elfe,²⁷ the cabinet maker, both as creditor, holding bonds on which Elfe paid regular interest, and as debtor for small services, most often the putting up or taking down of beds. When Peronneau died on April 22, 1774,²⁸ he bequeathed £500 to the church, one of the four people who made such bequests in the eighteenth century. On the rebuilding of the church in 1806, the congregation voted to bestow four rent-free pews on the descendants of these four benefactors, one pew to each family.²⁹ Mr. Peronneau's daughter, Margaret Edwards, predeceased him, dying on August 27, 1772, in travail with her tenth child, at the age of thirty-four years and four months.³⁰ Peronneau mentions in his will (not proved) the children of his daughter Margaret Edwards.³¹

John Edwards married third on January 3, 1774, Rebecca (Bee), widow of Isaac Holmes, a member of the Congregational Church.³² Isaac Holmes had married her on May 8, 1759,³³ and on December 17, 1763, died "Mr Isaac Holmes of this town, merchant, lately returned from England".³⁴ Thomas Bee, brother of Rebecca, was one of Holmes' executors. Her father, Colonel John Bee, married Susanna Simons and died March 3, 1749, aged forty-two years and six months.³⁵ In 1752 a petition having to do with the management of his estate lists his minor children as Thomas Bee

²² *St. Philip's Register 1754-1810*, p. 151.

²³ Edwards, *Circular Church*, p. 2.

²⁴ *This Magazine*, XXIX, 320. Frank J. Klingberg, *Carolina Chronicle: The Papers of Commissary Gideon Johnston 1707-1716* (Berkeley, 1946), p. 58.

²⁵ *This Magazine*, XII, 30.

²⁶ *St. Philip's Register 1720-1758*, p. 180.

²⁷ *This Magazine*, XXXV-XLII.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 214; XVII, 87.

²⁹ Edwards, *Circular Church*, pp. 88, 54.

³⁰ *This Magazine*, X, 168; XXIX, 238.

³¹ Read MS.

³² *Marriage Settlements* (MS, S. C. Historical Commission, Columbia), I, 122. *This Magazine*, XXI, 66.

³³ *Ibid.*, XX, 131.

³⁴ A. S. Salley (ed.), *Death Notices in the South Carolina Gazette*, (Columbia, 1917), p. 32.

³⁵ *This Magazine*, X, 160.

aged thirteen years, Rebecca Bee aged eleven years, and Joseph Bee aged six years. One son was apparently already of age.³⁶ The mother Susanna Bee lived until June 12, 1769.³⁷ Isaac Holmes left only two children by this wife, John Bee Holmes and William Holmes.³⁸ Both were to marry daughters of John Edwards by his second wife, Margaret Peronneau. His third wife, Rebecca (Bee), had one child only, a daughter. Mrs. Rebecca Edwards' will was proved February 21, 1821.³⁹ John Edwards had left her the occupancy for life of 15 Meeting Street.

John Edwards left the following children:⁴⁰

- 2 I John Edwards, born about 1760.⁴¹
- 3 II Alexander Edwards, born about 1767, probably on October 14.⁴²
- 4 III Edward Edwards.
- IV Mary Edwards, died unmarried (between January 1813, when she signed her will, and June 1814 when it was proved), at which time only one brother and three sisters living. When the Circular Church was rebuilding, 1804-1806, Mary Edwards made a loan of \$4,500 to the church.⁴³
- V Ann Edwards, died unmarried, April 26, 1783.⁴⁴
- 5 VI Elizabeth Edwards, born about 1765.⁴⁵
- 6 VII Margaret Edwards.
- 7 VIII Catherine Edwards.

To account for ten children as surviving John Edwards when nine are all that intense searching has found, it has been suggested that his wife was pregnant at time of his death. Careful examination shows this to be one case in which it may be proven that the wife was not enceinte, Edwards having left Charleston in August 1780, and having died before his family

³⁶ Gregorie, *Chancery Records*, pp. 467, 547, 585.

³⁷ *This Magazine*, XVI, 90.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, XIII, 185. Timothy Ford's Diary gives a charming description of Mrs. Rebecca Bee Edwards' plantation and a Christmas spent there in 1785. The footnote confuses John Edwards, the son, with his father, deceased in 1781. Henry M. Holmes was grandson of Mrs. Rebecca Bee Edwards.

³⁹ Charleston County Probate Court (cited as CPC), Will Book 1818-1826, p. 474.

⁴⁰ Read MS. No birth or baptismal records have been found.

⁴¹ *This Magazine*, XXV, 148; death notice places year of birth.

⁴² *Ibid.*, XXXVII, 33. Mrs. Edwards (Margaret Peronneau) was lying in Oct. 14, 1767 and March 4, 1769; Mrs. Edwards (Rebecca Bee) lying in Nov. 27, 1774. "Extracts from Journal of Mrs. Ann Manigault", *ibid.*, XX, 259; XXI, 13; 69.

⁴³ CPC, Will Book 1807-1818, p. 807. Edwards, *Circular Church*, p. 53.

⁴⁴ *This Magazine*, XVIII, 41.

⁴⁵ Epitaph, *ibid.*, XXIX, 239.

joined him twelve months later. The only surviving child that he had by Rebecca was:

- 8 IX Harriet Edwards, perhaps born November 27, 1774, when Mrs. Edwards was reported to be lying in.

The South Carolina families seem to have been twelve or more months in Philadelphia. They had so little money that Congress authorized collecting a relief fund. Names of the donors and the size of their gifts are reported in Josiah Smith's Diary. Some of the younger ones were probably sent to school or to the college in Philadelphia.⁴⁶ Henry William DeSausure studied at this period. From a casual study of the Edwards family, I gather that the social life of these exiles was rather self contained. A study of the marriages by this family shows a preponderance were made among this group, although some took place years later.

2

John Edwards (1) saw service as an aide-de-camp to Gen. Marion, and perhaps he is the one elected to the Jacksonborough Assembly, which met in January 1782, five months after his father's death.⁴⁷ His interests seem to have been business and political. He was one of the founders of the Chamber of Commerce in 1784.⁴⁸ Entries from an old Almanac of 1793 list him as a director of the Bank of South Carolina, president of the Union Fire Club which was formed in 1786, and president of an organization formed in 1788 called the Colf (golf?) Baan.⁴⁹ He was intendant (mayor) of Charleston in 1795.⁵⁰ His obituary adds that he was treasurer of the state and a member of the legislature, but this may be an error, as it also claims he served twice as intendant. John Edwards married, June 12, 1783, Rebecca Donnom, daughter of the deceased James Donnom. She died June 26, 1798, aged thirty-three years, and John followed after a "short and painful illness" on December 31, 1798, in his thirty-ninth year.⁵¹ His will, signed April 6, 1790, mentions his wife but does not name the small children. His brother Alexander Edwards qualified as executor, January 11, 1799.⁵² Also named as executors were his two brothers-in-law

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, XLV, 191. John Edwards had been one of many Charlestonians who contributed to College of Philadelphia in Jan. 1772.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 200.

⁴⁸ *Year Book City of Charleston*, 1883, p. 421.

⁴⁹ *This Magazine*, XXXII, 73, 77, 80.

⁵⁰ *Year Book City of Charleston*, 1883, p. 334.

⁵¹ *This Magazine*, XVIII, 85; XXV, 46, 148.

⁵² CPC, Will Book 1793-1800, p. 799.

John Bee Holmes and Philip Gadsden, and his good friend James Fisher,⁵³ business associate of his father.

- I John Donnom Edwards, bapt. May 29, 1785, died young.⁵⁴
- 9 II Rebecca Bee Edwards } bapt. June 3, 1787.⁵⁵
- 10 III James Fisher Edwards }
- IV Alexander Marion Edwards, bapt. February 15, 1789. He became a physician and died in his twenty-third year on May 30, 1811, at the home of Mr. Barksdale his brother-in-law, in Christ Church Parish. His brother, James Fisher Edwards, administered on his estate.⁵⁶
- V Mary Susanna Edwards, bapt. May 30, 1790, died young.
- VI Ann Margaret Edwards, bapt. January 26, 1794, died young.
- VII Margaret Eliza Edwards } bapt. May 25, 1796, died young.
- 11 VIII Edward Holmes Edwards }
- IX Elizabeth Katharine Edwards, bapt. April 22, 1798,⁵⁷ died young.

3

Alexander Edwards (1) studied law and was admitted to the Bar in Charleston in 1787.⁵⁸ In 1796 he became Recorder of the city and so remained until his death in his forty-fourth year on August 8, 1811. He married, May 22, 1793, Mary McPherson DeSaussure, daughter of Daniel DeSaussure, one of the St. Augustine deportees,⁵⁹ and Mary McPherson.⁶⁰ Henry William DeSaussure, Mary Edwards' only brother, had been on the prison ships in Charleston harbor with John Edwards (2), and was sent

⁵³ James Fisher and John Blake acted as agents for Charleston men imprisoned in St. Augustine, and sent them food, drink, and other items as ordered. This *Magazine*, XXXIII, 25-27, 102. When families were banished to Philadelphia, James Fisher, a single man, was among the number, *ibid.*, XXXIV, 79. A contributor to the Circular Church he was buried from there Jan. 31, 1817, *ibid.*, XXXIII, 31, 39; XLII, 200. His intimacy with Edwards family is attested by his several namesakes.

⁵⁴ This *Magazine*, XXXIII, 154. Elsewhere James Fisher Edwards is called "eldest son of late John Edwards".

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 157.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 159; XXXVI, 96. CPC, TT., 1811, p. 236.

⁵⁷ This *Magazine*, XXXIII, 160, 166, 171, 174.

⁵⁸ J. B. O'Neill, *Bench and Bar of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1859), II, Appendix.

⁵⁹ This *Magazine*, XXXVII, 33; XXXIII, 31; XXI, 157; XXXIII, 1, 87, 94, 100, 108; XXXIV, 31, 79.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, XXIII, 132, 140, 182. Mary McPherson, born Nov. 4, 1739, was eldest child of Alexander McPherson, who married Jane, widow of Samuel Nicholls, Sept. 24, 1738. Samuel Nicholls married Jane Jarvis, July 24, 1727.

with him to Philadelphia.⁶¹ Mary, oldest of the three DeSaussure daughters, was born March 5, 1767.⁶² On April 2, 1806, Alexander Edwards bought from Dr. Richard Waring 397 acres in Goose Creek of former Peronneau land. His executors sold this February 2, 1816.⁶³ His will signed August 4, 1811, proved August 16, leaves his wife all household furniture, carriage and horses; the residue was to be divided between wife and living children. His wife, her brother Henry William DeSaussure, his nephew James Fisher Edwards, and his sister's son John Gadsden, were named executors, his son John to be made an executor at the age of twenty-one. Witnesses were his brother-in-law, John Bee Holmes, his brother, Edward Edwards, and his wife's nephew, Henry Alexander DeSaussure. His widow's will of June 27, 1815, proved May 14, 1816,⁶⁴ left her son John an income of one-fourth the income of the estate for the next three years, unless he should be admitted to the bar sooner, at which time he is to receive \$600 in lieu of any other inheritance except his father's gold watch. Her other four children were to divide the residue equally, the three girl's sharing the plate, Sarah also receiving her mother's watch and her father's picture.⁶⁵ Executors were Henry William DeSaussure, his son Henry Alexander DeSaussure, and his partner and brother-in-law Timothy Ford.⁶⁶

- I Alexander DeSaussure Edwards, bapt. June 8, 1794, died young.⁶⁷
- II Henry William Edwards, bapt. May 16, 1795, died young.
- 12 III John Daniel Edwards, bapt. July 3, 1796.
- IV Alexander McPherson Edwards, bapt. April 1, 1798, died young.
- 13 V Sarah Amelia Edwards, bapt. September 23, 1799.
- VI Septima McPherson Edwards, bapt. February 21, 1802.

⁶¹ J. H. Easterby, "Henry William DeSaussure", *Dictionary of American Biography*. See Mrs. St. Julien Ravenel, *Charleston, The Place and The People* (New York, 1906), p. 323, for an account of Mrs. DeSaussure's effort to raise funds to comply with the British order to leave the city.

⁶² *This Magazine*, XXIII, 187. Sarah Amelia De Saussure, second daughter, born Aug. 19, 1770, married Jan. 22, 1793 and died before Nov. 20, 1800, when Ford married Mary Magdalene Prioleau. *Ibid.*, XXI, 154; *St. Philip's Register*, II, 272. The youngest daughter, Eliza Washington De Saussure, born Oct. 6, 1777, married Dec. 25, 1800, Andrew Burnet. *This Magazine*, XXXIII, 39.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, XXIX, 179.

⁶⁴ CPC, Will Book 1807-1818, pp. 457, 1071.

⁶⁵ Marriage Settlements, VIII, 466. Sarah A. Edwards' property at time of her marriage in 1823, consisted of plate and one-fourth share of a house and land in St. Michel's Alley, Charleston.

⁶⁶ A double relationship, as Henry W. DeSaussure had married Aug. 1785 Eliza Ford, sister of Timothy Ford. *This Magazine*, XIX, 173.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 167, 169, 171, 174, 307, 311; XXXIV, 47, 97.

- VII Alexander Fisher Edwards, bapt. July 24, 1804, died young.
 14 VIII Alexander Lewis DeSaussure Edwards, bapt. January 23, 1809.
 IX Jane K. Edwards.⁶⁸

4

Edward Edwards (1) married on December 8, 1796, Mary, daughter of James and Sarah (Cannon) Wakefield, who were married November 26, 1771. Mary Wakefield was baptized December 28, 1773.⁶⁹ James Wakefield, a militia officer, was deported to St. Augustine on November 25, 1780. His wife and seven children (no servants mentioned, but two Negro women were on the return list) were banished along with other families of patriots, and in August 1781 they were in Philadelphia. They were among those returned at British expense in August 1782; the children then were six in number, and James Wakefield was not listed.⁷⁰ Sarah Cannon was the eldest daughter of Daniel Cannon who was influential in the early days of the Revolution, and a vestryman of St. Philip's Church. He lived until October 5, 1802.⁷¹ Edward Edwards was living at the time his sister Mary Edwards signed her will in 1813.

- I Daniel Cannon Edwards, bapt. November 19, 1797. Married Mary Elizabeth Pinckney, daughter of Hopson Pinckney and his second wife Elizabeth Cannon, as her second husband.⁷²
 II Edward Henry Edwards, bapt. October 10, 1801. He died in his twentieth year on August 30, 1819.⁷³
 III Martha Cannon Edwards, bapt. October 10, 1801.
 IV John Alexander Edwards }
 V James Fisher Edwards } bapt. December 17, 1805.⁷⁴

5

Elizabeth Edwards (1) married on November 19, 1783, John Bee Holmes, attorney,⁷⁵ who was Recorder from 1786-1792, and from 1811-1819.⁷⁶

⁶⁸ No baptismal record found, but she is mentioned in her Mother's Will.

⁶⁹ *St. Philip's Register*, II, 261, 199, 88.

⁷⁰ This *Magazine*, XXXIII, 90, 100, (mistakenly called John Wakefield); XXXIV, 31, 83, 206; LI, 102. Sarah Wakefield died Sept. 1787.

⁷¹ Johnson, *Traditions*, p. 34; *St. Philip's Register*, II, 373.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 136, 224; this *Magazine*, XVIII, 16. Mary Elizabeth Pinckney must have been older than Daniel C. Edwards. Hopson Pinckney married Elizabeth Cannon, Jan. 21, 1777, and died in 1794.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, XLVI, 73; *St. Philip's Register*, II, 141.

⁷⁴ This *Magazine*, XXXIV, 49. Baptism is from Circular Church records; name of mother is blank. List of children of Edward Edwards is not offered as complete.

⁷⁵ *S. C. Weekly Gazette*, Nov. 21, 1783.

⁷⁶ O'Neill, *Bench and Bar*, II, Appendix.

On May 2, 1791, John Bee Holmes dressed in the robes of office and accompanied by Edward Rutledge and C. C. Pinckney, were the welcoming committee that greeted President Washington at Mt. Pleasant and conducted him to the city in the elegantly prepared barge. In 1794 he served as intendant.⁷⁷ To present day Charlestonians, he is known as the man for whom the handsome bookcase and secretary on display at the Heyward-Washington House were made.⁷⁸ John Bee Holmes died September 5, 1827, aged sixty-seven years, and was buried in the Circular Church yard. Beside him was buried Elizabeth Edwards Holmes, who died November 6, 1836, aged seventy-one years.⁷⁹

- I John E. Holmes, died in 1810, aged 25 years.⁸⁰
- II Rebecca Holmes, bapt. November 12, 1786, died 1802, aged 15 years.
- III William Alexander Holmes, bapt. February 15, 1789, died 1835, aged 47 years.
- IV Henry McCall Holmes, bapt. May 28, 1790.
- V Elizabeth Catharine Holmes, bapt. February 16, 1794, died unmarried 1852, aged 58 years.
- VI Isaac Edward Holmes, bapt. May 1, 1796.
- VII James Gadsden Holmes, bapt. January 28, 1798.
- VIII Charles Rutledge Holmes, bapt. March 18, 1800.
- IX Mary Edwards Holmes, bapt. March 30, 1802; and mentioned in 1813 in Will of her aunt, Mary Edwards.
- X Thomas Bee Holmes, bapt. May 15, 1804, died aged three months.
- XI Arthur Fisher Holmes, bapt. November 29, 1805.
- XII Albert Christopher Holmes, bapt. November 17, 1810, died 1810, aged eighteen months.⁸¹

6

Margaret Edwards (1) married William Holmes, younger brother of her sister's husband, John Bee Holmes, on March 31, 1791.⁸² She predeceased her husband some years, probably dying about 1800. William died between the time his mother Rebecca Edwards signed her will on June 2, 1818,

⁷⁷ *Chas. Year Book*, 1883, pp. 504, 505, 334.

⁷⁸ E. Milby Burton, "The Furniture of Charleston", *The Magazine Antiques*, LXI, 38, 53.

⁷⁹ *This Magazine*, XXIX, 239.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 238, 239, 345; the index confuses epitaphs of Edwards family with Holmes. Rebecca, Thomas B., Albert C., John E., William A., and Eliza C. are Holmes, as shown by baptismal records.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 156, 159, 160, 166, 171, 174, 308, 312, 315; XXXIV, 49, 100. List of Elizabeth Edwards Holmes' children may not be complete.

⁸² *This Magazine*, XXXIII, 30.

when he was named an executor with his brother and brother-in-law Thomas Mathews, and a codicil signed on November 12, 1820, which reads: "The property and estate I gave to my son William, I hereby give and bequeath to his children".⁸³

- I William Henry Holmes, bapt. January 29, 1792, mentioned in Will of Mary Edwards in 1813.
- II John Bee Holmes, bapt. January 26, 1794.
- III Mary Fisher Holmes, bapt. January 18, 1796.
- IV James Fisher Holmes, bapt. January 2, 1798, mentioned in Will of Mary Edwards in 1813.
- V Elizabeth Harriet Holmes, bapt. November 4, 1799, perhaps the Harriet Holmes mentioned in Mary Edwards' will.

7

Catherine Edwards (1) married Philip Gadsden on November 19, 1783, the same day her sister Elizabeth married John Bee Holmes.⁸⁴ Philip Gadsden, youngest son of Christopher and Mary Hasell Gadsden, was christened October 11, 1761.⁸⁵ Christopher Gadsden was the only patriot banished to St. Augustine who refused to give the British his parole, saying as he had already given it at Charleston, that at this time to reaffirm it "His honour wou'd not permit him to do it". Consequently he spent the ten months in St. Augustine, locked in a cell in the castle. Philip Gadsden was another of those sent on board the prison ships in Charleston harbor and later shipped to Philadelphia. Mary Hasell Gadsden had died January 27, 1769,⁸⁶ so she was spared having to move herself and household to Philadelphia as did Rebecca Edwards, Mary DeSaussure, and Sarah Wakefield. Catherine Edwards was living when her sister Mary Edwards died in 1813.

- I Christopher Edwards Gadsden, bapt. May 26, 1787.⁸⁷
- II John Gadsden, bapt. May 26, 1787.⁸⁸
- III Elizabeth Gadsden, bapt. February 19, 1792.⁸⁹
- IV Rebecca Harriott Gadsden, bapt. April 19, 1795.

⁸³ CPC, Will Book of 1818-1826, p. 474. List of children of Margaret Edwards Holmes is incomplete.

⁸⁴ This Magazine, XVIII, 144.

⁸⁵ St. Philip's Register, II, 48.

⁸⁶ This Magazine, XXXIII, 9, 10, 283; XXXIV, 59; St. Philip's Register, II, 327.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 105. With his brother John Gadsden, Christopher was executor of will of Mary Edwards, his aunt.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 106, 48.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 119, 132, 137, 139, 366, 141.

- V Thomas Gadsden, bapt. September 14, 1798.
- VI Philip Gadsden,
- VII Margaret Gadsden, bapt. February 9, 1800, buried November 15, 1800.
- VIII Ann Gadsden, bapt. October 4, 1801.
- IX Eliza Fisher Gadsden, bapt. April 4, 1805.⁹⁰
- X Fisher Gadsden, bapt. November 22, 1805.
- XI James Gadsden.⁹¹
- XII Mary E. Gadsden.⁹²

8

Harriet Edwards (1) married Thomas Mathews of "White Hall, John's Island", on December 4, 1805.⁹³ Both were living at the time Rebecca Bee Edwards added the codicil to her will on November 12, 1820. The witnesses to the signing of the will on June 2, 1818 were Benjamin and Maria Mathews.

- I Harriet Rebecca Mathews, bapt. July 23, 1807.⁹⁴
- II William Edwards Mathews, bapt. January 6, 1808.
- III Mary Julia Mathews, bapt. November 17, 1810.

(To be continued)

⁹⁰ This *Magazine*, XXXIV, 48, 49. Children with Fisher in their names were baptized at Circular Church.

⁹¹ *St. Philip's Register*, II, 48.

⁹² Mentioned in will of Mary Edwards, her aunt, as are her sisters Harriet R., Ann, Elizabeth H. Gadsden.

Philip and Catherine Gadsden had eight sons and eight daughters so this is incomplete.

⁹³ A. S. Salley (ed.), *Marriages Notices in Charleston Courier 1803-1808* (Columbia, 1919), p. 27; this *Magazine*, XXXIII, 44; XXIX, 162.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 52, 96, 100.

SOME LETTERS OF THE BARNARD ELLIOTT HABERSHAM
FAMILY 1858-1868

Contributed by SARAH AGNES WALLACE

(Continued from October)

RICHARD TO BARNARD ELLIOTT HABERSHAM

Richmond May 30th 1862

My dear Father

Uncle R⁴ reached this place night before last and the letters in my valise were read with a great deal of pleasure altho' there is one circumstance that I wish you had mentioned yourself and not have left it to another to do for you.

Enclosed is a note to Richard Manning, in which I will get you to enclose eight dollars (\$8.00). Seal it and forward wherever he may be, at the earliest possible time. I feel that it has been put off too long already, but he has already so long and so persistently refused to accept it "at present" from feelings of delicacy in accepting remuneration for action that was in every way as much to his advantage as to Elliott's or mine, that we should have the tent, at the same time I have been under obligations to him for a much longer time than was my intention when he so kindly offered to advance the necessary sum which I did not have at the time, and it is high time now that it should be returned.

Uncle R. begs me to say to Aunt Martha⁵ that his intercourse with different persons since leaving Clarendon have been in every way satisfactory, particularly that with Genl J. E. Johnston and staff, the Genl recognizing him immediately and meeting him as an old friend should do. I am nearly well now,—tho' my cough still worries me sometimes at night. I am going to camp next week, as I can't for an instant think of accepting Uncle Richard's proposition at this time, altho' at any other, I would accept it with pleasure. I told him so and tried to show him how much I appreciated his kind offer. He and I walked over to see Uncle Stephen yesterday afternoon, who told us that Aunt Lucy⁶ was sinking very fast.

Jackson's operations in the vicinity of Winchester and Martinsburg have caused the greatest uneasiness in the Northern Army before this place, and there was some hint this morning that McClelland was falling back towards Yorktown. Cousin Cora⁷ while riding evening before last,

⁴ Richard Wyly Habersham, artist.

⁵ Martha Mathewes, wife of Richard Wyly Habersham.

⁶ Lucy Pollard, first wife of Stephen Elliott Habersham, M.D.

⁷ Probably Cora Etheridge.

had her horse to step into a hole which threw him, and she falling, his head and neck struck her across the chest and shoulders. Fortunately the ground was soft, and she was extricated before the horse had an opportunity to strike her with his feet. She was very much shocked but was up and down stairs nearly all day yesterday. I have not seen her this morning.

Thank Frank very much for the pipe. I tried it this morning and enjoyed a pipe for the first time in more than six months, which is a sure sign that the Scurvy has left me and I hope never to return.

Tell Sister that Cousin Cora has her letter to read and I have no doubt she will very soon hear from her on the Daguerreotype subject. The one you have of her is decidedly the best I have seen.

I'll write you again if possible. Remember me to all friends. Love to all from

your affecti[onate] son

RICHARD

RICHARD TO MRS. BARNARD ELLIOTT HABERSHAM

Office Surg[eon] in Char[ge]

Howard's Grove

Richmond Feby 13th '63

My dear Mother

I have just received yours of the 7th inst with "P.S." from Father of the 9th. It was like a Sunbeam on a rainy day. I was just giving up every thing about home as being so jubilant over the raising of the blockade at Charleston⁸ as to have forgotten the existence of a certain Confederate soldier now under blockade laws in Richmond. No: I was exaggerating then. I did not think that you had forgotten me, but I assure you that I was becoming very impatient under the delay.

Feby 15. Since writing the above, I have been in a "peck of trouble." On Friday afternoon I went to ride with Cousin Cora, after which I went into the house for a few moments and when I came out to mount my horse he was not to be found. If you have never been in the same fix you can not imagine my feelings. The horse was a very valuable one and the worst of it is I have heard nothing of him since. I went to every public stable in the city yesterday and left instructions with the proprietors of each to retain him if he should be brought to their stable. I then walked up and down Main Street for some time to see if he was there, but all my efforts were unavailing. In tomorrow's "Dispatch" and "Enquirer". I intend beginning a series of advertisements which may be expected to last for some time or till the horse comes to hand. The animal belonged to a brother of Dr. Sutton [?], the present surgeon in charge, who has acted very gentlemanly

⁸ Raising of the blockade was a false report.

in the matter. He saw that I was very much worried about the thing, so he told me among other things on the same subject not to worry myself about it further, it was nothing more than an incident which was as apt to occur to him as any one else. I expect to pay all expenses incurred while recovering the horse and shall think myself fortunate if I get off minus fifty or seventy-five dollars. If I do not find him I shall consider myself bound to remunerate the owner for him. It pains me very much, my dear Mother, to have to write to you on this disagreeable subject, but you and Father have always taught us to come to you when anything worries us. I write you about it now that you may see how things are, and if the horse is lost, the better it is that you should know it early. If it does come to hand I'll write you a special letter to apprise you of the fact.

I did not mean to furnish a design for the banner, only to show you how the "style" was to be come at. Make anything that your taste suggests as appropriate for the purpose. I promise to be very easily satisfied. I might offer to subscribe to it myself were it not for the horse affair, which will draw all the money out of my pockets that will get there for several months to come. Tell Sister that if she means me to give my opinion about the kind that is to be made, in order to have me decide the difference of opinion between the young ladies, she must really excuse me, for I am too fond of her sex when *amiable*, and stand too much in awe of their abilities for maintaining *each* their own point, to come in conflict with anyone of the fair sex, thereby involving myself in a difficulty which the young ladies might not like and which I am certain that I dread.

I am all alone in the office today, the other clerks having gone to a funeral. So you can imagine what a glorious time I am having all alone with none to come worrying around me, shaking my desk and doing a thousand little things too numerous to mention, all of which, however, are very disagreeable when a person is trying to behave himself like a discreet body on a Sunday.

Sister is mistaken in supposing that I wear my nice shirts every day, for I never wear them except on important occasions. Yesterday was one of the loveliest days that we have had this winter. Today, however, is just the reverse, reminding one of a sulky person who tries to do something disagreeable, and at each unsuccessful effort gives vent to his disappointment by screwing up his face til you can discern nothing but a jumble of disagreeables.

Tell Uncle R[ichard] that I have been making inquiries about the tobacco seed⁹ for him but as yet have been unsuccessful. Kind regards to all of my friends and love to the rest from

Your affti[onate] Son
RICHARD

⁹ He may have wanted seed for Brazil.

Tell father not to forget to prepay the express on the shoes. That is the only safe way to do

RICHARD TO BARNARD ELLIOTT HABERSHAM

Howard's Grove Hospital
Richmond, Dec. 25th / 63

My dear Father

A Merry Christmas to you and may I be at home to enjoy the next with you all, and not be forced to rely upon strangers for the enjoyment which is so poor a substitute for those pleasures which to me are more truly enjoyed at home with those whom I love, be it ever so quiet, than the greatest gaiety at such times with my friends only. Not that I did not have a gay, merry, happy Christmas, and still expect to have before the holidays are over, but 'tis not like being at home.

I think that in my last I gave you an insight into the program which I had sketched out for myself and some friends. So far my anticipations have been fully realized. Yesterday I spent with a lady friend. Had a capital dinner and drank at least a gallon of eggnog, no exaggeration—and spent the evening with her company until ten o'clock, then came home and went to bed to sleep off the effects of my dissipations during the last two or three days. Night before last I was up till 5 a.m., dancing and frolicking. So you may imagine that sleep will come very naturally to my eyes tonight. Tomorrow I am invited out to dine. If you were here I should consult you upon the propriety of accepting the invitation, but as you are not accessible I think that I shall act for myself and go. First, however, I shall go to Church, from there to Dr. Bolton's,¹⁰ and then get to my friend's house in time for dinner. Don't rebuke me, Father, for thus desecrating the Sabbath, but suspend your judgment until you have experienced some of the hard fare imposed by the Govt. upon her soldiers, then you can understand, and understanding can appreciate a soldier's appetite, for after being subjected day after day to the same routine of beef and bread, the rebukes of conscience are very feeble for doing what otherwise would be thought an outrage to decency, if nothing more.

Libby¹¹ wants me to go with him down to his home on Tuesday next. If I do so, being absent tomorrow and business on Monday consequent upon my contemplated absence for the remainder of the week, will leave me no time to write home unless I do so tonight. Hence the cause of my straining my sleepy eyes to do so, for I know how anxious you are when I fail to write, and not wishing you to be so, I do everything in my power to

¹⁰ Dr. James Bolton (1812-1869), Confederate surgeon, was born in Savannah, graduated from Columbia University in 1831, and settled in Richmond.

¹¹ Libby & Son were tobacco merchants. Their warehouses were taken for Libby prison.

prevent it. Say to Sister that Miss Byrde Hudgins was married on Tuesday last. I can tell her nothing more as I was so unfortunate as to have missed an invitation. Whether she ignored totally the fact of my existence, or thought an invitation superfluous, I can't say. I only know that the first intimation that I had of it was when I went to the Doctor's and asked for Cousin Cora, being told that she was at Miss Byrde's wedding. Quite a cut. Don't you think so?

I can't write any more. I am going down to my room. Please don't forget to give your attention to my last letter. How long does Sister expect to remain with Cousin Kate?

Love to all from your affti[onate] Son

RICHARD

RICHARD TO MRS. BARNARD ELLIOTT HABERSHAM

Howard's Grove
Jany 8th / 64

My dear Mother

Do not imagine by my long silence towards you individually that I have forgotten you, for indeed 'tis no such thing, only I have been so entirely taken up with my "business" correspondence with Father as to make it unnecessary to write to you particularly, you reading my letters all as if they were addressed to you. Then, too, you know that there are times when you have not time to read them, and 'twould be unfair to keep the others waiting until you do so. Now that the "business" letters between Father and myself have been suspended for a time, and while I am waiting for him to answer them, I will renew the intercourse interrupted by that correspondence.

The weather has been so variable for the last two or three weeks as to keep me who was dependent upon its smiles for pleasure, in a constant state of perplexity. Notwithstanding I have had a very pleasant Christmas but so soon over. It seems more like a dream than two weeks of unrestrained pleasure. Plenty of eggnog and good things to eat, agreeable company &c., all of which I miss a great deal now that I have returned to the stern and sober realities of a soldier's life. However, I am not dissatisfied to do so, having every opportunity for enjoying myself in the evenings after my day's work is over, and now that Dr. Rice is absent on a 30 days' furlough, I can be a little more free for that space of time. As when he was here, altho' he has never refused to let either or both of us go out at night, still I disliked so much to have to hunt him up every time that both wanted to go together—which was generally the case—as to destroy in a great measure the pleasure of the visit. He allows me to be absent every night—which is very indulgent of him, but is positive in his command that both do not

leave at the same time without his permission, or in his absence, that of the Officer of the day. The latter, however, is but a recent arrangement since Christmas. At that time Dr. Rice "blew up" Libby and myself for being absent without permission, and then I requested that in his absence from the Hos[pital] at any time the Officer of the Day's consent might be sufficient. To which he consented.

Sunday, 10th—I was prevented, dear Mother, from finishing this on Friday, and fearing that you may be anxious about me, will not make this as long as I originally intended, but will close and send this off this morning. Love to all from your affec Son

RICHARD

I dreamed of brother all night last night.

RICHARD TO MRS. BARNARD ELLIOTT HABERSHAM

Howard's Grove Hospt
Richmond Feby 1st 1864

Dear Mother

Yours of the 26th Ult. came to hand this morning and I assure you found me in the midst of the most deplorable state of things you ever heard of. Starvation, disbandment, and every thing that is awful. 'Tis a fact, we are literally on the point of starvation. The Govt. allows us \$1¼ per diem for our subsistence, and that without even the privilege of buying at Govt rates. We are to buy from the Market with that dollar and a quarter everything upon which we live, and after a careful calculation we have decided that the most to be purchased with it is 1 lb of Meal and 3 oz of Bacon, or 5 or 6 oz of Beef, which is to be our daily bill of fare. We are having a jolly time of it now. The patients have all been transferred to the Chimborazo Hos[pital], and Dr. Rice ordered to the field. Which order, by the way, met with my hearty approbation. I am again working my way into the Treasury Dept. Don't know tho' that I shall succeed as the place to which I was appointed has been filled—Dr. Rice's opposition being the cause of my losing the place. Still my friends up there are working their very hardest for me. I have a requisition for me from Thompson Allan, Commissioner of the Confederate War Tax of Georgia, as a Clerk in his office, but he has no vacancy at present. I shall not get into Mr. Allan's as in order to do that I must be a discharged soldier. Simons wishes to get me into the 1st or 2nd Auditor's Office with the understanding that he is to have me to fill the first vacancy which occurs in his office. All depends, however, upon my getting a transfer ordered by the Secretary of War. Surgeon Temple, at present in charge of the hospital, has promised me to render every assistance in his power. I shall go before the Examining Board for a certificate of permanent disability. If I succeed in procuring that, I think that

I will be all right; and can get the transfer. If I do not, Why, I shall stay here until I become accustomed to starving, and then go to the field. How do you like my plan? Capital, I think.

I will try to procure for you the article on Cadets which you write for, but think that it will take some time, as I know of no one who can give me the information. Jack Barker, in my opinion, knows no more about it than I do. I have looked in the Army Regulations, but can find nothing there that relates to the subject. . . .

The first opportunity that you get, find out from Dr. Habersham¹² (I don't remember which one of them it is) on duty at some hospital in Columbia whether he might have any use for me were I to get a transfer South. Which I will try to do if the Board gives me a certificate of permanent disability and I fail to get into the Treasury Dept., for stay here and starve, I will not. The Board did once give me such a certificate. Whether they will do so now, I cannot say. However I will try them tomorrow.

With much love to all, I am as ever,

Your Affti Son
RICHARD

RICHARD TO MRS. BARNARD ELLIOTT HABERSHAM

Howard's Grove Hospt
Richmond, Feby 9th 1864

My dear Mother,

Yours of the 1st Inst came to hand today. Your letters take usually only about three, sometimes two days to reach me.

The Examining Board declined to give me a Certificate of permanent disability, so I decided not to go into the Treasury Dept. for without the Certificate, I would have been in a bad fix, for I could not have received pay sufficient to board me in the City. . . . I suppose I will not be sent to the field before April, anyhow, perhaps not till May. I am as anxious to get home as you are to see me, but this furlough business is rather a ticklish thing, and the application for one, sometimes results in an order for a return to duty with one's command. I am very glad that you contemplate a visit to Augusta, for I know that it will be enjoyed. I regret that I am not free to accompany you.

I congratulate myself that I have seen so little of the hardships of this war, while there are those who have seen nothing but trouble since its commencement. I have often returned thanks that the nearest relative

¹² Stephen Elliott Habersham, M.D., uncle of Richard, or Joseph Clay Habersham, M.D., son of Dr. Joseph Clay Habersham.

of mine actually in the ranks was nothing nearer than a cousin, that I alone of my family am compelled to fight for my country, and I have managed pretty well to take care of myself. I am free to work only for myself, without the hindrance of wife, Brother, or Child to cause me anxiety. I have already had two furloughs—one of them unusually long—and should I never get another one, it will be nothing more than fair. I promise you not to lose any opportunity for getting home.

I have no fears about the fruit crop, though some ten days ago I thought we were destined to lose it.

From all I hear Genls Lee and Meade are taking advantage of this fine weather for turning lose their dogs of war and giving them a taste of blood before the regular campaign opens. I hear they were fighting today.

I am now holding the important position of Chief Clerk, for the Hon. Mr. Libby, who formerly held that position, has gone to the Surgeon General's Office. I know that his pay will not support him in the City at the present rates of board—from \$175 to \$200 per month.

The breaking up of the hospital and removal of the patients has left me with very little to do. Now why can't they let me go home on furlough? It will do no good to keep me here wasting away my time and eating up \$1.25 worth of food every day from the starving population of Richmond.

Well, I have written myself and paper away, so farewell with love to all from your affti Son,

RICHARD

RICHARD TO MRS. BARNARD ELLIOTT HABERSHAM

Camp Near Newtown, Va.
Nov. 12th, 1864

My dear Mother,¹²

Yours of the 29th Oct. reached me on Monday last. I gave John the enclosure for him, and we wrote a joint letter immediately after, which I suppose has just about gotten to you.

The army is now on the march and, having a rest given to us to day for what purpose I can't say, every one in camp is occupied with pen or pencil, getting letters ready for to morrow's mail. It is a sad sight to see this beautiful valley, desolated as it is, all along the route from Staunton to this place. Homes are leveled to the ground, stock wantonly destroyed, and horses by the hundreds, lying scattered on the fields or stretched off on the roadside, either killed in Early's last fight, or died and left unburied.

¹² Along the side of this letter is written: "This was written over by me, when alone at home, my wife and children scattered from Georgia to Oregon. Sept. 17, 1876. B.E.H." Apparently the Rev. Mr. Habersham traced the lead-pencil-written letter in ink at that time.

I wrote to Mrs. Sinkler¹⁴ from Staunton. Since then I have been marching incessantly with the exception of 3 days rest in camp near New Market, through rain, sunshine, and a little snow at one time, the weather intensely cold, then suddenly changing to very warm. Marching on the turnpike, which is as hard as flint, blistered my feet and made them so sore as to be very painful.—Our infantry is now in line of battle, the bugle is sounding for the horses to be taken up, and we are, I think, about to have a little excitement of some kind, probably a battle as the sharp shooters are all in front ready for action.

Sunday 13. We are now some 30 or 35 miles in the rear of the position which we held yesterday, having marched it since 6 o'clock yesterday afternoon. Our battery of two 3-inch rifle guns was posted on a hill near our left, commanding a complete view of the whole surrounding country for several miles. From this position we could see the cavalry fight as it raged first forward, then back. Finally the enemy's [cavalry] charged us, were repulsed, and then our cavalry charged, driving them back, and took some 50 or 60 prisoners. The entire army then fell back, cavalry, artillery, and infantry, in four parallel columns the moon almost as bright as day, and the mountain breeze striking us as if each wave were a rank of sharp icicle bayonets. It was a grand sight, this march by moonlight, but bitter cold.

This is a green country, this mountain "valley of the Shenandoah". During a great portion of our march *this morning*, while the sun was making one side of our bodies glad with its warm and cheerful rays, such a cold snow-storm as one does not often see was pelting us on the other side, but it would not do to stop now, for we must reach our supply train, so "push along, keep moving" is the command. Bread and meat we must have even if everything else is to be sacrificed, and staying away so far from our base does no good since we only followed the enemy over the valley to let him see that we were on the lookout. Yet if I had known yesterday, I should have left Mrs. Sinkler's [?] letter with some one in Strasburg to mail at Shepherdstown when the Yankees end action if ever. Now I do not know when I will have an opportunity to get it there again. I shall, however, keep it until I do. I am glad that Sister sent the quantelets. Lamson promised me to call and deliver them.

I saw a sight to day that made me feel sensibly the horrors of captivity—One of the prisoners had his arm shattered, consequently they did not make him march with the rest, but gave him a separate guard who from time to time would jab him with his gun, in a most brutal manner, and when the poor fellow with tears streaming down his face, said that he could move no faster, told him if he did not he would kill him. He had nothing on thicker

¹⁴ Mrs. Charles Sinkler, perhaps Emily Wharton who married Charles Sinkler of Belvidere Plantation (now flooded by the Santee-Cooper reservoir, Lake Marion).

than a flannel blouse and almost frozen, crying and holding up his broken arm with the other hand. I had no blanket with me or I am sure it would have gone over him. Later I finally got him into one of our ambulances, and he is now on his way to Richmond.

Love to all from your aff[ectionate] Son

RICHARD

RICHARD TO MRS. BARNARD ELLIOTT HABERSHAM

Camp Milledge Artillery

Near Harrisonburg, Va. Nov. 30, '64

Yesterday, dear Mother, we moved from our camp near New Market to just two miles from the little town of Harrisonburg, which is at present our post office. By the way, it does more harm than good to direct letters to the army to any particular post office, so in future direct only to *Early's Corps*.

I do not think we can stay here very long, nor do I think it General Early's intention to try it, but that he will send the artillery anyhow somewhere back on the railroad. Morgantown, it is thought, will be our winter qrs. this winter. It is just at the foot of the Blue Ridge, some twelve miles from Staunton, on the Va. Central Rail Road, where we can get our supplies, particularly forage for the horses, by the road, for Sheridan has so completely laid waste this section as to make it barely tenable for the inhabitants alone, making it impossible to subsist an army here, as our rations now have to be hauled from below Staunton and are consequently very short at times. The horses get very little forage of any kind except grazing, and even that is insufficient and barely supports life, then it robs the citizens of what they principally rely upon for the support of their stock. Everything is very scarce except milk, there seems to be an abundance of that and we generally have a little in camp every day, the people generally seeming to be willing to let us have all that they can spare, some selling it to the soldiers from fifty cents to a dollar per canteen full. My canteen holds about 3 pints. it is one of the largest size; others refuse to take anything for it but give all that they can. This is the country for Father to live in. It would just "suit him to a tee". The people have an eye more to comfort than display, seem to think very little of the glitter of wealth, have nice, warm, comfortable houses, a plenty to eat, splendid farms which they well understand how to take care of, are a hard working and thrifty people, and withal occupy what is called the "Garden Spot" by the noble old state. Any great degree of literary attainment is rarely seen here, but as a general thing their character possesses that stamina which is nearly always found wanting in the same classes with us. They read the newspapers, thereby keeping themselves posted of the outside world, and freely

speaking their minds on any subject which may come before them. Make their own apple butter, you have never seen any of that. It looks and tastes very much like the jelly, only not so clear. And in a word [they] inherit the thrift and Saur Kraut characteristics of their predecessors from the Vaderland—all Dutch. There is a Mr. Cooner, Mrs. Hoover, Dr. Kaufman, Mr. Huff, the Misses Seibert, et cetera, all telling their descent.

Captain Jno is at present on a general court Martial for the Artillery of the Valley District and comes home every evening in time to partake of his beef and bread with the rest of us. Dick has been off with the supply train up the valley and will not return for several days yet. He is, I suppose, having a good time and lives on the fat of the land which is not suffering as this down here.

If Mrs. Chas. Sinkler has not yet gone down to her plantation, tell her that with a great deal of pleasure I have to inform her of the departure of her letter by private hand, thro' the courtesy of some young ladies who very kindly offered to send it for me—they happen to know Miss Robinson. If she has, let me know at once that I may write her. Frank probably is very sorry that he did not remain and go out with the Militia from Augusta to meet Sherman. I sincerely trust that he may be completely destroyed. If the people do not burn and break up everything in his line of march, I truly hope that he may leave nothing but ruin and desolation to every household that neglects it. Now here's Father's letter of the 19th just reached me. Be sure not to forget what I say about addressing letters for this army. I will let John answer Father's letter, as he can do so better than I, and there is no use in both writing on the subject. Yes, we all have bibles, and moreover our Chaplain has prayers for the Battalion twice a day, at reveille and tattoo, everybody being present and in line at parade rest.

Much love to Mrs. Sinkler, Uncle Richard, and all. Howdy to the servants.

RICHIE

W. NEYLE HABERSHAM¹⁵ TO BARNARD ELLIOTT HABERSHAM

Savannah [?] Dec. 3, 1864 [?]

My dear Elliott,

We are in great confusion here as you may suppose with Sherman threatening all round. The city is one vast military camp. I have not time to read or sleep. The way in which Sherman has advanced has paralyzed everybody and everything. Very few have moved. Some people say where shall we go, to the Mountains, or the South or the Interior? Every place is threat-

¹⁵ The son of Robert and Elizabeth (Neyle) Habersham. Of his nine children, the two oldest sons were killed at Atlanta.

ened.¹⁶ My sister's illness keeps Father here and how to send my family off with the very great uncertainty of my being with them is beyond my means of deciding. If I had or could get a home in some safe place I would try to get them to move but I would hardly know how to feed them. Horses are not to be had anywhere either.

Robert is well though he does not look well.

Isabella¹⁷ is sinking daily She is reduced to a skeleton and suffers a great deal I have no hopes of her recovery and think she is declining rapidly.

I write in great haste It is late at night and I am behindhand in the mass of work before me so I must bid you good bye. It may be a long time before you will hear of me again The enemy may cut our lines any day.

Yours truly

W. NEYLE HABERSHAM

I enclose 110 20 due you on our books

(To be continued)

¹⁶ Savannah was occupied by Sherman on Dec. 21, 1864.

¹⁷ A sister; she died.

"OSSIAN" VISITS CHARLESTON 1765

By HENNIG COHEN

University of South Carolina

Pre-Revolutionary South Carolina had more than her fair share of pamphleteers and poetasters, and not infrequently their productions were published in England. This was true of verses by such writers as Dr. Thomas Dale¹ and Joseph Dumbleton², whose works appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*; and the political essays of Henry Laurens and William Henry Drayton, which were collected in a modest volume.³ Certain other Charleston authors published books in England based upon their experiences in America. James Adair,⁴ observer of Indian culture, and Sophia Hume,⁵ Quaker preacher, are examples in this category. The province was also the place of residence of several individuals like Alexander Gordon,⁶ who had made something of a reputation as writers before they emigrated. There is little doubt, however, that the most important eighteenth century literary personage known to have been in South Carolina before the Revolutionary War was James Macpherson.

The *South Carolina Gazette* of July 20, 1765, contains the following news item:

Yesterday returned from Pensacola, John Stuart, Esq; his majesty's agent for, and superintendent of Indian affairs in the southern department of America (having, we presume, completely finished the business he went upon.)—accompanied by James Macpherson, Esq; the celebrated publisher of "FINGAL, an ancient Epic Poem, in six books, together with several other Poems composed by Ossian, the son of Fingal," and secretary of the province of West-Florida, who embarks here for England next week.

¹ For an account of Dale's career as a physician and writer, see, Robert E. Seibels, "Thomas Dale, M.D., of Charleston, South Carolina," *Annals of Medical History*, new series, III, 50-57. Also, *Dictionary of American Biography*.

² Dumbleton wrote several poems which appeared in the *South Carolina Gazette* in 1749. His "Rhapsody on Rum" was reprinted in the September, 1749, *Gentleman's Magazine*.

³ *The Letters of Freeman* . . . , London, 1771. These essays were first printed in the *South Carolina Gazette*. They are concerned with the non-importation agreements.

⁴ *The History of the American Indians* . . . , London, 1775. Adair had previously made an unsuccessful attempt to have this book published in Charleston.

⁵ *An Exhortation to the Inhabitants of the Province of South Caroline* . . . , London, 1752.

⁶ See, *Dictionary of National Biography*.

In February, 1763, as a result of the treaty of Paris, Spain ceded the province of West Florida to England. Several months later, George Johnstone, a Scot, was appointed governor. In 1764, probably as a result of his friendship with Lord Bute, Macpherson was given the position of secretary to the governor, and perhaps the additional posts of president of the council and surveyor-general. He remained in America for approximately two years, but probably as a result of a quarrel with Johnstone, he was in Florida only part of this time. He returned to England in 1766 after a tour of the West Indies.⁷

Evidently Macpherson was passing through Charleston on his way to the West Indies. John Stuart⁸ was a logical travelling companion and guide for the overland journey from Pensacola, the capital of West Florida, to Charleston. A fellow Scot, he had been appointed superintendent of Indian affairs in 1762. He is known to have been in the Floridas during most of 1764, and he was probably returning to his home in Charleston. It was natural by virtue of the official positions which they both held that Stuart and Macpherson should be acquainted.

The *South Carolina Gazette*, edited by Peter Timothy, was one of two newspapers published in Charleston at that time. Of the second newspaper, the *South Carolina Weekly Gazette* edited by Robert Wells, only a few scattered issues are known to exist. Timothy, who probably wrote the notice of Macpherson's visit, must have been quite familiar with *Fingal* or have had a copy at his elbow, for he quotes exactly the full title of the first edition.⁹

It is unlikely that Macpherson's visit to South Carolina influenced his writing in any way. What writing he did after his return to England, with the exception of a translation of the *Iliad*, was mainly in the fields of politics and history. Aside from the fact that he was permitted to keep as a pension the salary which he had received as secretary to the governor, his two years in America seem not to have affected his career as a public official or as a literary figure. The chief interest arising from the account in the *Gazette* is that it provides certain previously unknown biographical data concerning Macpherson and gives further evidence of the cultural awareness of colonial South Carolina.

⁷ Bailey Saunders, *The Life and Letters of James Macpherson*, London, 1894, pp. 212-13.

⁸ See, *Dictionary of American Biography*.

⁹ The first edition was published in London in December, 1761. A second edition was published in Edinburgh only a few days later.

PROPOSED CATAWBA INDIAN REMOVAL, 1848

By JAMES W. COVINGTON

University of Tampa

During the early part of the nineteenth century the United States Government set up an Indian country west of the Mississippi River and moved nearly 100,000 Indians into the area from their eastern homes. Some pressure was placed upon the Catawba Indians to move from their homes in South Carolina in 1830, but it took ten years for a treaty to be signed.¹ Finally in 1840 the Catawba Indians agreed to join a band of Cherokees who had remained in North Carolina.²

The Catawbas moved to North Carolina but were not happy in the new location and some of them returned to their former homes. A state reservation was set aside for the Indians in their ancient hunting area, and it seemed that this small tribe of Indians had been overlooked by the Federal government. Congress, however, provided the sum of \$5,000 in 1848 for the removal of the Indians to a western home.³ Those Cherokees who had moved to the Indian Territory were asked if they would give the Catawbas part of their land, but John Ross and the Cherokee Council would not sanction the transaction.⁴

The Catawbas had definite ideas regarding the removal of their tribe and they communicated with John Mullan, who had been taking a census of the Cherokee Indians remaining in North Carolina. Mullan gave the views of the Indians in the following letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington:

Off. Ind. Affr.

Nov. 13, 1848

Dear Sir:

Since my return from the mountains of No. Carolina where I had been on special duty the accompanying communication from Geo. L. Mason, Esq. with the enclosed letter from the Catawbas to the President has been rec'd, and I take the liberty of referring both papers to you without the [illegible] of presenting the Catawba letter in the first place to his Excell'y the President. I consider it my duty also to state that "Wm Morrison" whose name as "Chief" is first signed to the letter, an intelligent, respectable Catawba, called on me *in private* while I was in

¹ Chapman J. Milling in his *Red Carolinans* gives an excellent account of this tribe, which was of the Siouan family.

² This was a treaty between the Indians and South Carolina, not the United States. Details of the treaty can be found in Milling, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

³ July 29, 1848, 9 *United States Statutes At Large*, 264.

⁴ The resolutions of the Cherokee Council, Dec. 29, 1848, Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Letters Received, *Cherokee 1848*, R 394, hereafter cited as R.B.I.A.

the neighborhood of the present home of his people and made some objections to the appointment of Mr. Sherrill as agent for their removal. Morrison also desired me to make it known to the Dept. that his people preferred a home with the Chickasaws west; and stated that at one time the Chickasaws had given the Catawbaws an invitation to settle among them. It is also due from me to W. Sherrill to state that he stands high in his country, is Deputy Sheriff there and that he is a man of business capacities and that he informed me [that he] had taken great interest in the affairs of this interesting remnant of a once powerful tribe—that they had matters yet to settle with the state of South Carolina and as the letter herewith is dated some *two weeks* after Morrison's private interview with me, it is probable that Morrison had changed his mind in regard to the appointment of Mr. Sherrill. I suggested to Morrison that he should write freely to the Department and that their proper requests and wishes would be fairly and rightfully considered by you. His objections to Sherrill at the time may have grown out of some personal disagreement afterwards made up and from Morrison's subsequent letter accompanying this, it is fair to presume that his objections to Sherrill have been removed.

I have the honor to be Very Resp.

Your Obed't Servt.

JNO. C. MULLAY⁵

George Mason helped the Indians compose their letter to the President of the United States. It is not common in the study of Indian history to have the red man's views concerning Federal policy. Their letter to President James Polk, which he probably never saw, is interesting. Mason sent the letter to Mullay, who in turn enclosed it with his message to Medill.

Quallatown Haywood County
North Carolina
October 4, 1848

To His Excellency the President of the United States

We the undersigned Catawba Indians having great confidence and respect for Mr. Samuel P. Sherrill as a gentleman, the integrity of his character and moral bearing of conduct and having known him to be a friend—appointed him our Agent in the recovery of our claims against the state of South Carolina and to remove us west and having been badly treated, cheated and defrauded by persons who acted as agent for us before Mr. Sherrill's acceptance of such appointment. We humbly beg His Excellency the President to appoint Mr. S. Sherrill the Agent on behalf of the United States to remove us west of the Miss. under an act of the late Congress.

With the hope His Excellency will grant our request we remain your most o.b. svts.

In presence of
Abram Seller
George Mason
John Gibson

WILLIAM MORRISON *Chief*
and marks of 41 Catawba
men and women⁶

⁵ John Mullay to William Medill, Nov. 13, 1848, R.B.I.A., 1848 *Miscellaneous*, M 280.

⁶ Catawba Indian to President of United States, R.B.I.A., 1848 *Miscellaneous*, M 280.

Members of the South Carolina legislature became concerned over the disposition of the Indians and the large amount of money which had not been paid to the Catawbas in spite of the agreement which was signed in 1840. William Thomas² stated the concern of the lawmakers in his letter to Orlando Brown, new Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Columbia So. Carolina
13th December 1849

Hon. O. Brown, Commissioner of I. A.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge, per telegraph, your answers in relation to a proposed arrangement intended to be made with the Chickasaw Indians to permit the remnant of the Catawba Indians to settle among them, and have communicated the information received to the Governor of this state for the use of the Legislature now in session. The Governor requested me on my arrival in Washington to ask you to do him the favor to forward him copies of the letters from your office to the agent of the Chickasaws and his answer thereto, also copies of the communication to the Cherokees and their answer in relation to the admission of the Catawba Indians to reside among them. He also desires that you would ascertain of the agent of the Chickasaws if they would receive the Catawbas provided that the Catawba Indians were provided with an annuity of four dollars per head. As I would be detained a few days, may I ask that the above request may be complied with.

The Governor as well as the Legislature of this state seem anxious to do justice to the Catawbas and to aid them in settling where they may desire to live.

Your obt servt
WM. THOMAS²

In his reply, Brown stated the goals of his office in the matter:

Office Indian Affairs
December 18, 1849

His Exec. Governor of So. Carolina
Columbia, So. Carolina

Sir:

With the enclosed copy of a letter received at this office from Mr. Wm. H. Thomas of So. Carolina, I have the honor to transmit copies of the papers relating to the efforts made to obtain a home west of the Miss. for the Catawba Indians, which Mr. Thomas states are desired by you.

Before the answer from the Cherokees was received, the Department was given to understand it to be the wish of the Catawba to join the Chickasaws, who were willing to receive them. Hence the letter to the Agent for that tribe, and the reason

² William Thomas to Orlando Brown, Dec. 13, 1849, R.B.I.A., Letters Received, 1849 *Chickasaw*, T 228.

that no answer was returned to the preamble and resolution of the Cherokees, and which the reply of Agent Upshaw appeared to render unnecessary.

Though the Department has anxiously looked for some definite determination from the Chickasaws, no information on the subject has been received from them since the Agent's letter. Their attention will be again called to it, and a final decision urged at an early period. In the meantime I beg leave respectfully to inquire whether the Catawba now receive an annuity of four dollars per head from the State, or whether it is only proposed to make them such an allowance in the event of their emigration west of the Mississippi. The Department would also be much obliged by being put in possession of the information desired by the Cherokees, if it can be furnished by yourself or the proper state officer, without too much inconvenience.

O. B.⁸

Other members of the Five Civilized Tribes who had settled in the Indian Territory included the Creeks, Seminoles, Choctaws and Chickasaws. A message was sent to the agent of the Chickasaws asking him if the Catawbaws might settle in their territory and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs received a favorable reply.

Chickasaw Agency
January 8th 1849

Honl Wm Medill Comn of Ind. Affairs

Sir

A short time since I received your letter of the 6th Nov respecting the Catawba Indians and their wish to live with the Chickasaws. Since its reception I have seen several of the principal men of the Chickasaws and they all appear willing to take them, but the letter must be read in Council which will be in next month. At the payment of the second half of the annuity of 1848, I have no doubt but what all the Chickasaws will agree to take the Catawbaws, I shall do all I can to carry out the wishes of the Government on the subject. So soon as the Chickasaws decide to take them, I will give you my opinion which will be the best route for them to emigrate by. Agreeable to your regard,

Very respectfully
A. UPSHAW

N.B. The Chickasaw District is large enough for three such tribes as the Chickasaws.⁹

The condition of the Catawba Indians was stated in an excellent survey of the way in which the Indians had been treated by the state.

The terms of the 1840 agreement were not kept, and it took courage on

⁸ Orlando Brown to Whitemarsh Seabrook, Dec. 18, 1849, R.B.I.A., Letters Sent: *Letter Book No. 42*, 538.

⁹ A. Upshaw to Medill, Jan. 8, 1849, R.B.I.A., 1849 *Chickasaw* U 55.

the part of Governor Seabrook and the Legislature to honor the debt owed to the Indians.

Executive Department
Charleston, Jan. 7-'50

Dear Sir:

In reply to your letter of the 18th ult, I have to acquaint you, that the number of Catawba Indians is 110—20 men, 43 women, and 20 male and 27 female children under 10 years of age. Of the tribe, 76 are in North Carolina and 54 in this state. They own no land. The farm on which a few of them in our limits reside is public property. The debt due by So. Ca. to these Indians is about \$18,000. In relation to it, the Legislature, at its last session, adopted the following resolutions, viz.

1st. "That the Comptroller General cause to be made up a statement of the amount due the Catawba Indians under the treaty of 1840, allowing interest at 7 per cent upon the amounts agreed to be paid, from the date at which they were to have been paid, and giving credit for payments as on individual bonds; and that the expenses of the agent shall not be charged as payment on account".

2. "That for the amount thus adjusted, the state shall debit herself as debtor to the Catawba Indians, and shall allow an interest of 6 per cent payable annually; and said interest shall be annually divided in annuities per capita among the Catawba Indians".

As a tribe, these Indians lead a wandering life and are indisposed to labor. They are, however, very quiet, peaceful and easily governed. In North Carolina, 11 males and 22 females are connected with the church Echota mission. Dissatisfied with their present auditor, they desire to be incorporated with the Chickasaws. Separated from the whites, I am persuaded that they would soon contract habits of industry and sobriety. At present they are supplied by the state with clothing and food fully adequate to their requirements. Hereafter they will receive, as an annuity, probably from \$8 to \$10 per head.

May I ask whether, if the immigration take place, the U. S. will appoint an Agent to attend them to their new home? The answer of the Chickasaws to the request of the Catawbas to be admitted into their tribe, it is important that I should receive as early as possible. Should it be in the negative, application should be made to the Cherokees.

Respectfully your obedient servant
WHITEMARSH B. SEABROOK¹⁰

The Chickasaw Council finally took action on the Catawba admission resolution and voted it down. Agent Long blamed the negative vote upon intruding Indians who had robbed the Chickasaws and the death of one chief who was most friendly to the Catawbas, hurt their chances.

Finally with an uncertain home in the offing, a small band of Catawbas left South Carolina and headed for Indian Territory. It would appear that

¹⁰ Seabrook to Brown, Jan. 7, 1850, R.B.I.A., 1850 *Miscellaneous*, S 411.

South Carolina Agent Joseph White had much to do with the emigration. The arrival is recorded in the final letter in this series.

Choctaw Agency West Arks.
Sept. 22, 1853

Hon. T. S. Drew
Supt. Ind. Affairs

Sir:

I have the honor, herewith to enclose a letter from Joseph F. White to Philip Kegg a Catawba Indian from which it appears an appropriation was made to assist such Catawbas as might emigrate West.

In the month of December, 1851, a party of Catawba Indians left South Carolina for the Choctaw country and arrived here in Febry, 1852. There were twenty three in all when they left and six of the number have since died—most of them at Napoleon on the way out.

Seventeen are settled near this agency and desire to obtain from the Choctaw Council the right of citizenship at its next meeting in November.¹¹ But the means to purchase the privilege are wanting. I think the Choctaws will readily consent for a moderate consideration to be paid into their national treasury.

These Catawba Indians are a peaceable, unoffensive and I believe honest but very indigent set. They are entitled to the charitable consideration of the U. S. Government and I hope you will bring their case to the notice of the Comm. of Indian Affairs.

Respectfully
DOUGLAS COOPER

¹¹ These Catawbas were admitted to full citizenship in the Choctaw nation by vote of the Choctaw council in November 1853.

MARRIAGE AND DEATH NOTICES FROM THE CITY GAZETTE OF CHARLESTON

Compiled by ELIZABETH HEYWARD JERVEY

(Continued from October)

Died near Marion (Ga.) the Rev. Andrew Brown. At Burlington (New Jersey) of apoplexy Thomas Newbold, late member of Congress &c. At Wellington (Massachusetts) Widow Mary Bruggs, aged one hundred and Two Years leaving nine children, Samuel 79, Elizabeth 77, Jemima 73, Hannah 72, Abiathar 70, Abner 68, Roby 63, Zebedee 60, Eliakim 57, also 56 grand children, and 47 great grand children. (Saturday, January 3, 1824).

Died at West Hanover (Md.) Gen. James Wallace, formerly Member of Congress from that district. (Wednesday, January 7, 1824.)

Died, in East Port Maine, Capt. Elias Bates aged 52. A man remarkable for the eccentricities of his life and the peculiarities of his opinions. By his will he directed that his body should be inclosed in lead, bound with hoops of the same, to be taken to sea, three miles SSW from Sail Rock (West Quaddy Head) and then at sunrise, committed to the deep, with his face towards the Sun. . . . He directed that the mourning dress should be dove silk, with the Sun painted on the left arm, and the plate on his coffin to bear also the emblem of the Sun, which directions have been followed. (Wednesday, January 7, 1824.)

Married at Bergen (N. J.) on the 7th ult. by the Rev. Mr. Corneilson, Jacob D. Warner Esq. of this city to Miss Hannah Farrington, daughter of Mr. Jacob Farrington, of W. Chester County. (Saturday, January 10, 1824.)

Died, at Knoxville (Tenn.) Francis Dalzell, Esq. formerly Postmaster, aged 47, the first head of a family who has deceased in that town for twenty years past. (Wednesday, January 14, 1824.)

The Friends of Mrs. E. Nowell are invited to attend her Funeral at 4 o'clock This Afternoon, from Mrs. Steedman's, East-Bay opposite Guignard-street. (Thursday, January 15, 1824.)

Died, at Georgetown, Mrs. M. E. H. M'Lennan, the only child of her parents, and widow of Mr. Murdoch McLennan, who died about two

months since. She was in her 18th year, and was buried with a new-born infant in her arms. (Friday, January 16, 1824.)

Died on Long Island, near New York, White Matlack, Esq. a patriot of the Revolution, aged 80. At Fishkill, Peter A. Schenck, Esq. formerly naval-officer of the port of N. York. At New-London (N. H.) Mr. Thomas Pike, aged 84, a soldier in the French war, an officer in the Revolution. In Philadelphia, the week ending the 3d instant, 124 persons, of whom 19 were of—the Small Pox! in New York 59. (Friday, January 16, 1824.)

Married, on the 24th of December, at Pleasant Retreat, Beaufort District, by the Rev. J. McEncroe, William R. Ball, Esq. of Savannah river, to Miss Margaret Mulligan. (Monday, January 19, 1824.)

The Relatives, Friends and Acquaintances of the late Miss Elizabeth C. Bacot and of her brothers, Thomas W. and H. H. Bacot are invited to attend her Funeral from the house of Henry H. Bacot, 49 Tradd-street, This Morning, at 11 o'clock, A.M. without further invitation. (Tuesday, January 20, 1824.)

A Jury of Inquest was impannelled yesterday morning, on Market Wharf, to inquire into the cause or causes which led to the death of William Hall, aged about 35 years, (a U. S. soldier). From the evidence adducted to the jury, it appeared that said Hall had been drinking freely the evening before, and got asleep on the wharf back of the Oyster Shell Banks, where he was found next morning. The jury brought in their verdict, that the deceased came to his death by intemperance and cold. John Michel, Coroner. (Wednesday, January 21, 1824.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. John E. Schirmer, and of Mr. J. Sass; also the Members of the German Friendly, German Fusilier, and Charleston Mechanic Societies, are requested to attend the Funeral of the former from No. 79 Queen-street, This Afternoon, at 3 o'clock. (Thursday, January 22, 1824.)

Died, on the 15 instant, at his seat in Warren County (N. C.) James Turner, Esq. in the 57th year of his age. Mr Turner has sustained various public offices, including Governor of the State, and Senator of the United States, with reputation, and possessed the general esteem of the community. In Raleigh, Mr. Edward Rhodes, of the house of Rhodes & Wilkie, merchants of Halifax; In Franklin County, Mr. Harry Goodloe; in Bertie county Mrs. Sarah Hardy, wife of the Rev. W. E. H; in Halifax county, Mr. James W. Alston, aged 47. (Saturday, January 24, 1824)

Married, at Norfolk, by the Rev. Mr. Woodson, Lieut. James E. Legare of the U. S. Navy, to Mrs. Ann Allen, daughter of sailing master James B. Potts, of the Navy-Yard, Norfolk. (Monday, January 26, 1824.)

Married, at Philadelphia, by Robert Wharton, Esq. Mayor Abrahm Shoemaker, Esq., to Mrs. Hannah Huddle. (Monday, January 26, 1824.)

... On the evening of Sunday, the 18th instant departed this life, in the most sudden manner, and without any previous indisposition, having attended devine service both morning and afternoon, Miss Elizabeth Catharine Bacot, in the 42d year of her age. ... [long eulogy] (Thursday, January 29, 1824.)

The Friends and acquaintances of Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Howard, are invited to attend the Funeral of the latter, This Morning at 10 o'clock, from her late residence corner of Green and College streets. (Thursday, January 29, 1824.)

... With painful feelings we record the demise of Mrs. Bella Hertz, relict of Mr. H. M. Hertz, of this city, who after a lingering illness departed this transitory existence on the morning of the 24th instant aged fifty years. She was a native of this city and truly esteemed by all who knew her. As a wife, she was kind and sincere; as a mother, generous and affectionate; and as a sister, she was loving as she was beloved. ... (Friday, January 30, 1824.)

Died, in this city, on the morning of the 27th inst. Mr. William Lee, Printer, of Yorkshire, (Eng.) in the 35th year of his age. (Friday, January 30, 1824.)

Died, at Edgefield C. H. on Wednesday last, Gen. John S. Glascock, a respectable member of the South-Carolina bar, and of the Legislature of that state. By the unexpected discharge of a gun, we understand Gen. Glascock received a wound in the hand and some other injury, which, though at first we believe not deemed dangerous, terminated in the mournful event, by which a rising and interesting family are deprived of their head and support, and the public of an active, worthy and useful citizen. ... Augusta Chronicle, 21st January. (Friday, January 30, 1824.)

Died in Chester District, on the 10th instant, Mr. John Knox, aged 75 years. Mr. Knox was one of those who, in '76 determined "to be free or die" ... Thus the worthies of the Revolution are passing away, and the

places which once knew them will soon know them no more for ever.
(Saturday, January 31, 1824.)

Died, on the morning of the 22d inst. in the eighty-ninth year of his age, Capt. Robert Cochran, a native of New-Boston, in Massachusetts; but upwards of sixty years an inhabitant of Charleston. In this venerable man were assembled many rare and superior virtues. In the various relations of husband, father, friend and master, the feelings by which he was bound, were of the tenderest cast. By his death the number of the few surviving patriots of the revolution is again diminished. He died as he had lived a Christian without guile. (Saturday, January 31, 1824.)

(To be continued)

NOTES AND REVIEWS*

Ersatz in the Confederacy. By Mary Elizabeth Massey. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1952. Pp. xii, 233. Illustrations, bibliography. \$5.00.)

In her extensive investigation of Confederate commodity shortages and substitutes, the author of this volume has explored official records, a great mass of published and unpublished private material, and thirty-six newspapers from eleven Confederate states, in addition to the secondary sources. She has summarized her findings in an informative and interesting little book which makes a worthy contribution to the history of the Southern home front during the sectional conflict.

By way of introduction, two chapters are devoted to the causes of shortages, and to state and Confederate governmental policies bearing on the causes or alleviation of scarcity. On the complex subject of causes, the reader is reminded on the one hand of Southern industrial weakness, an increasingly effective blockade, inadequate railroad and other transportation facilities, speculation and hoarding; and on the other, of generosity to soldiers and the needy, government impressment and produce taxes, manpower shortage, and destruction resulting from military operations. Only barely mentioned is the seemingly important effect of an unsound currency. The efforts of state governments to improve conditions through encouragement of manufactures, state importation, embargoes on export of provisions, laws against speculation and distillation of grain, crop controls, and relief programs for the indigent are satisfactorily summarized.

The real value of the book lies in the six excellent chapters on specific shortages and replacements of "Food and Drink," "Clothing," "Housing and Household Goods," "Drugs and Medicine," equipment needed in "Transportation, Industry, & Agriculture," and "The Little Things of Life." It was in the first of these categories that for the vast majority of people, the deficiencies were most pressing and persistent. The problem involved much more than the mere inconvenience of resorting to corn bread, sorghum, coffee substitutes, sassafras and yaupon tea, and other expedients; it was a matter of constant struggle to obtain the very necessities for existence. Supplies of meat, flour, meal, fats of all kinds, and even vegetables, were so limited as to cause great deprivation, especially among the poor. Though there were area and individual exceptions "the Confederacy was always hungry." Especially acute was the scarcity of meat, which caused

* This department will print queries not exceeding fifty words from members of the Society. The charge to non-members is one dollar for each fifty words or less. Copy should be sent The Secretary, Fireproof Building, Charleston 5, S. C., at least three months in advance of publication.

at least a limited consumption of rats, dogs, and mule-meat, in addition to a greater dependence on fish and fowl and meat substitutes such as peanuts. Less desperate than the problem of food, but serious, was the necessity of doing without or finding substitutes for the numberless other commodities in scarce supply. The author has well described Southern efforts to fill the gaps and has pictured the conditions of austerity which the shortages entailed. She has written a worthwhile book.

Wofford College

CHARLES E. CAUTHEN

The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, May 18, 1741-July 10, 1742. Edited by J. H. Easterby. *The Colonial Records of South Carolina.* (Columbia: The Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1953. Pp. x, 620. Frontispiece. \$12.50)

This volume is an addition to the very admirable work initiated by Dr. Easterby for the Commission.

A large part of this journal is concerned with a little recognized part of our history. The usual biographical sketch of that most unusual person, James Oglethorpe, such as is found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, will ask you to believe that he was rather successful in his "noble experiment" with debtors in Georgia, and that almost in spite of South Carolina he made a good campaign, on the whole, against the Florida Spaniards in the War of Jenkins Ear. The reports in this journal let you conclude that his conduct, certainly in that conflict was as fantastic as the name of the war. They show that however he functioned as a philanthropist, as a general in the field in 1740, he developed nearly ever fault a man could show and remain sincere. Diligently, untireingly, incompetently, masterfully, he wasted men, time, and money. Immediately he lost to South Carolina, inspite of her conscientious cooperation, valuable lives, a large sum of money, and prestige accumulated through a half-century. Later he allowed her to be saddled with the blame he richly deserved. This and success at Bloody Marsh let him keep his military reputation, until its final destruction in the '45. An imperfect variation of this report formed a large part of the fourth volume of *Collections* of this society, printed in 1887. It is very satisfactory to have it restated carefully here.

SAMUEL GAILLARD STONEY

Confederate Georgia. By T. Conn Bryan. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1953. Pages x, 299. Preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$4.50.)

Almost no aspect of the Georgia scene during the Civil War is ignored in Dr. Bryan's remarkably inclusive volume. Here are to be found not only relatively familiar details on state politics, the relations between the state and Confederate governments and military operations, but unusually full

discussions of economic, social and cultural developments. Particularly comprehensive is the treatment of Women's Wartime Activities, social life and diversions, the newspaper press and literary pursuits, education, churches and the impact of the war on industry, transportation and agriculture.

While much has been written concerning particular events in Georgia during the Civil War, Dr. Bryan's study comprehends in one book nearly all the varied phases of the state's history from 1861 to 1865. If it adds little which is essentially new, it presents revealing details on such developments as the role of government in the regimentation of economic life, the growth of restlessness and insubordination among the Negroes—in contrast to the stereotype of the loyal servant, the influence of the war in awakening the churches to an increased interest in the welfare and religious training of the slaves, the extent of disloyalty, desertion and bushwhacking in the later stages of the conflict, both the individual and cooperative war efforts of women, theatrical offerings in Savannah and Augusta, the literary activities of such writers as John Hill Hewitt, "Bill Arp" (Charles H. Smith) and Francis Orray Ticknor, and the beginning of the career of Joel Chandler Harris as a member of the staff of *The Countryman*.

Generally objective and impartial, Dr. Bryan lets the evidence speak for itself and presents opposing contemporary viewpoints on such controversial issues as Governor Joseph E. Brown's policies toward the Confederate government and Jefferson Davis's replacement of General Johnston with Hood during the Atlanta campaign. The depredations of Sherman's march are described with commendable moderation, while details are also presented on the pillaging activities of Wheeler's Confederate cavalry. Commenting on the "somewhat odious" reputation of Andersonville prison, the author points out that "a majority of the letters written by Georgia soldiers serving as guards at the prison testify that the prisoners were treated with kindness and consideration" (p. 161).

Quotations from common soldiers and humble civilians as well as from newspapers, the writings of political and military leaders and official records, not only enhance the vividness of the retelling of such familiar events as Sherman's march, but reflect the loneliness of wives and sweethearts whose men were in the service, the bitter resentment of speculation and extortionate prices by long suffering civilians, the high hopes with which many Georgians began the war and the hopelessness and despair of the closing years.

The principal weaknesses of *Confederate Georgia* are an occasionally insufficient analysis and digestion of some of the materials and an inadequate perspective on the background of secession and the relationship of

developments in Georgia to conditions elsewhere in the Confederacy. On the whole, however, Dr. Bryan has not only achieved his primary objective, which was "to depict as completely as possible the scene within the state" (p. ix), but has succeeded remarkably well in conveying the atmosphere of the times. His book is a valuable addition to the lengthening list of studies of the impact of the Civil War on the individual states of the Confederacy.

The Citadel

GRANVILLE T. PRIOR

A History of the South. Originally published as *The South Old and New: a History 1820-1947*. By Francis Butler Simkins. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953. Pp. xxiii, 655. Illustrated. \$5.75.)

Dr. Simkins has added enough to his older work to give full scope to the subject the title demands. Opening with discussions of the various theories of Southern history, he adumbrates his own, and in stimulating fashion sets out the evidences.

In the earliest period he has sometimes confused this reviewer. After noting the fatal colonial failures of de Leon in 1521, and Ayllon in 1526, he calls the Pensacola colony of Tristan de Luna, in 1559, the earliest Spanish attempt to occupy Florida. He then removes the remnant of this colony to Port Royal (Santa Elena) in 1561, a thing we had believed Philip II could not manage, even with de Luna and Villafane to aid him. He would seem to have made a slight overstatement in calling the thirty Frenchmen Ribault left at Port Royal in 1562, a colony; and to have understated a case when he says that Ayllon's people had been "decimated", when some seventy percent of the five hundred colonist were lost in a few months time.

He flings the composition of the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina square at the head of John Locke, when that philosopher-in-the-making was very much an understrapper of Ashley Cooper, one of the most astute, most casuistic, and dominating men in England; when it is obviously tailored to the taste of Restoration England; and when it is, as plainly, propaganda for a boom settlement. There could hardly be a doubt that whatever embroidery of romantic feudalism Locke may have added to the Utopian mixture, the tenor of the whole came from Ashley Cooper and the other wary politician-business-men who made up the Proprietors. Dr. Simkins say that the Constitutions "convention of landed aristocracy" took root in South Carolina, despite the failure of almost all else about it. Without the success of the plantation system, we venture to say, those roots would have found this but stony ground. With the plantations well started by rice, the qualification was inevitable.

At this late date we feel that anyone could find a better guide to the ante-bellum culture of South Carolina, and Charleston particularly, than Trent.

We would take issue with Dr. Simkins characterization of Tillman as a "one-eyed rustic." That they are both products of feuding, fighting, Edgefield District, explains but does not seem altogether to excuse this. It was not Tillman's only resemblance to Wotan that he had lost an eye in pursuit of wisdom, giving it as a poor boy as part payment for a hard-won education. This would seem to us honorable proof that he was not truly rustic either in nature or nurture, however it suited him to play the very plain man, and whatever such tricks he used to further his political objects. The late Langdon Mitchell, when Tillman was as notorious, in slightly better style than Huey Long, heard him, for filibuster purposes, in the Senate, declaim *Paradise Lost* more perfectly than he could have imagined it might be done. The man had a marked likeness to the portrait bust of the Giovanni de Medici, and would have been better fitted to that great *condottieri's* times, maybe, than to his own. Then, a large part of his career depended directly upon his innate ability to act. In old age the character he assumed wore thin and showed beneath it certain qualities of greatness.

SAMUEL G. STONEY

Last year, the Gaffney Chamber of Commerce published *A Brief History of Cherokee County*, which was noted in the July issue of this *Magazine*. About the same time, the Chamber rendered another valuable public service by publishing a mimeographed edition of the *Diary of Captain Michael Gaffney*, an important source of local history. The publication marked the hundredth anniversary of the death of Captain Gaffney, for whom the town of Gaffney was named. In 1797, when nearing his twenty-second birthday, he left Dublin, Ireland, on board a sailing vessel, the "Snow Palace," to seek his fortunes in the new world, where he finally settled in what is now Cherokee County and became a leading citizen.

The Stackpole Company of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, issued in 1953, a revised edition of *American Gun Makers* (pp. iv, 246, \$6.00), by Arcadi Gluckman and L. D. Satterlee, a standard reference work in its field, which first appeared fourteen years ago. In compiling the more than four thousand entries, the authors used archives, collections of guns, directories, documents, local histories, magazine articles, makers' marks, newspaper files, reminiscences, tax lists, tombstones, and all other available sources. Much new information has been added to this edition, and great effort has been made to correct and delete errors. In the South Carolina references, among errors which remain are: Oconer for Oconee (p. 1); Biscalse

for Bicaise; Enoch Bolton is placed in Charleston in 1665, five years before its settlement; and Thomas Archcraft, in Charleston in 1671, is omitted.

THE SOCIETY

The following items from the John Bennett collection in the South Carolina Historical Society are now released for research purposes: Wemyss Diary (original in Boston Historical Society); *Georgia Gazette*, 1 vol.; Notes on bells, 1 file; Notes on Gullah, 2 vols., 1 file, 1 box; Memorials to the Loyalist Commission in London from S. C. Loyalists (in N. Y. Public Library), 3 vols., 1 index; Notes on Fanning, etc., and T. Sumter in London, 1 vol.; Bibliography, 1 vol.; Extracts from Sparks MSS (in Boston Historical Society), 1 vol.; Card reference to events and individuals, 2 large packets; Newspaper references, 6 vols.; Confederate notes, general, on S.C., Notes on old portraits, Jarvis, Sully, secession, torpedo boats etc., 1 box; newspaper clippings on contemporary Charleston, 1 vol.; genealogical notes on Adger, Smythe, Dulles, Cheves, Russell, Lovell, McCord, Turquand, Stirling, Ellison, Langdon, Courtonne and Heatley families.

THE MAGAZINE

For the third time since the editor took office in 1948, Waverly Press has been forced by rising costs to announce a ten percent increase in the cost of producing the *Magazine*. Officers of the Society, however, have not increased annual dues. The alternative to an increase in dues is to increase the number of members. When the *Magazine* can be ordered by the thousand copies, the cost of a single copy is thereby lessened. It is therefore essential that the latest advance in the cost of printing be counterbalanced by a greatly increased membership. If every member will bring in at least one new member, the Society's enrollment can be doubled immediately.

INDEX OF SOUTH CAROLINA GAZETTE

Too few orders were received for Dr. Hennig Cohen's name-index to the *South Carolina Gazette* to justify the cost of printing. Through the good offices of Mr. George W. Williams, the index has been micro-filmed, and is now available in that form to subscribers.

THE BUILDING OF "THE DAVID"

In the *South Carolina Historical Magazine* of January, 1953 (LIV, 32), appeared an article entitled "David C. Ebaugh on The Building of 'The David'." This article gives an account of the designing and building of the Confederate torpedo boat "David" which is widely at variance with the testimony of Theodore D. Stoney, who financed the building of the

vessel; of the Reverend John Johnson, author of *The Defense of Charleston Harbor*; and of Mrs. St. Julien Ravenel, author of *Charleston The Place and The People*, *Eliza Pinckney, Life and Times of William Lowndes*, and other works.

In view of the publication in this *Magazine* of the Ebaugh letters, it is highly desirable that this other and very different testimony be presented there. The sense of it may be summed up in the statement of Theodore D. Stoney to his physician, Dr. William H. Huger, that "Dr. St. Julien Ravenel conceived the idea, planned, and had the torpedo boat 'David' constructed under his supervision . . . Mr. D. C. Ebaugh did the work and carried out Dr. Ravenel's wishes." Mr. Stoney told Dr. Huger that he desired "it distinctly and emphatically known that the credit for producing the David is due entirely to Dr. St. Julien Ravenel and that no one else has the slightest claim directly or indirectly to it."

I had hoped to present before this in the *Magazine* at least a summary of this testimony, but other engagements have prevented and are still an obstacle. Meanwhile, I suggest that this brief preliminary note be placed in the record by publication in the *Magazine*. I contributed to *Harper's Magazine* for May, 1943, a full account of the "David" based on the above testimony, and this account is readily available in the bound volumes of *Harper's* in the libraries.

23 Legare Street, Charleston.

HERBERT RAVENEL SASS

REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION

Mrs. W. T. Fry, Sr., 4001 West 4th street, Fort Worth 7, Texas, wants:

1) Ancestry of John Kelley (Kelly), said to have come from Ireland to North Carolina; married before 1795 a Readick; also wants her name and ancestry. Their son Readick Kelley, born 1795, died 1852 in Arkansas, married 1st a Blythe, 2d, Eliza Young.

2) Information on widow Fralick who married 2d a Jones of Orangeburg, S. C. Their daughter Martha Jones, born 1783, died 1841, married 1799 Rev. Jacob Whetstone, born 1778 in Orangeburg, died 1851. Both died in Autauga County, Alabama. Descendants known.

J. B. Perry, Jr., Box 1125, Grenada, Miss., wants North Carolina parents of Robert Williams (will proven 1825 in Kershaw) who patented lands in 1804 on Grannys Quarter creek; married Peter Turley's daughter Mary. Their children married Lowery, Ingram, Frazer, Mayhew, Rosamond; to Mississippi in 1835. Will exchange data.

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